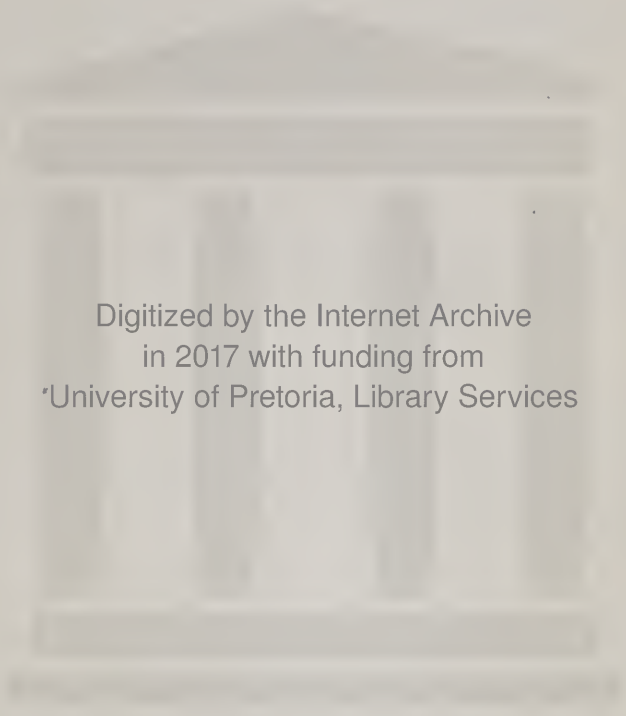
AFRICANA
MERENSKY-BIBLIOTEEK
UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA.
Klasnommer ZPA 34-8
Registernommer 66545
BANNISTER
23 AUG. 1940



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
University of Pretoria, Library Services

https://archive.org/details/humanepolicyorju00bann

HUMANE POLICY;

OR

JUSTICE TO THE ABORIGINES

OF

NEW SETTLEMENTS

ESSENTIAL TO A DUE EXPENDITURE OF BRITISH MONEY,
AND TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE SETTLERS,

&c. &c.

HUMANE POLICY;

OR

JUSTICE TO THE ABORIGINES

OF

NEW SETTLEMENTS

ESSENTIAL TO A DUE EXPENDITURE OF BRITISH MONEY, AND TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE SETTLERS.

WITH SUGGESTIONS

HOW TO CIVILISE THE NATIVES BY AN IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION OF EXISTING MEANS.

By S. BANNISTER,

LATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

"The Aborigines shall be undisturbed in their liberty, and never enslaved; they shall be governed politically, and civilly, as ourselves, and enjoy the same measure of justice. Good rules shall be made for teaching them, and especially their children, the truths of religion, and the usages of civilised life. And care shall be taken to withdraw them from heathenish customs; and from indolence, the mother of want, to the cultivation of the soil; and to such social habits as their condition and capacity may bear."—Dutch Law, A. D. 1636, referred to by Voet. lib. 1. tit. 5. De Statu Hominum, s. 3.

LONDON:

THOMAS AND GEORGE UNDERWOOD,

FLEET STREET.

1830.

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

DEDICATION.

TO THE MEMBERS

OF

THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

THE object of the following pages resembles that in substance, to which your care has long been partially devoted; and they are submitted to your consideration in the hope that the arguments which they contain—may possibly induce you to extend your solicitude to the helpless Aborigines of all our colonies.

Many of the papers were first collected with the intention of being printed at a more distant period than the present, and after much more mature inquiry than has yet been made; but circumstances set forth in the sixth article of the appendix, in relation to a particular settlement, together with a belief that the novelty of some of the papers will compensate for the

less perfect execution of the design, have led to their speedier publication.

The times, too, seem favourable in many respects for examining such views as are offered to the public in this volume; and if they be thought sound by those who have, of late, abandoned prejudice in more difficult circumstances, the practical adoption of the proposed measures is far from hopeless; and it is not too sanguine a recommendation of those measures to assert, that they are calculated to stay much of the cruelty we are now daily committing.

In Africa, particularly, by this means a fresh impulse may perhaps be given to the enlightened principles which alone can save its unfortunate tribes.

You once, as a society, took a lively interest in the affairs of the southern people of that continent; and you were the chief promoters of an inquiry instituted by the crown, which has already conferred upon them considerable benefits. Sound, however, as the opinions of the commissioners in that inquiry seem to have been, they are not yet sufficiently appreciated by his Majesty's government. The remains of old error still hold strong possession of official men; and important recommendations are neglected, to the great check of civilisation, and injuriously, both to our national honour and to the public interests.

It will not therefore, I trust, be thought arrogant, if I submit to you, that your work is still imperfect; and I may be permitted to urge, that what you began prosperously, you are bound to endeavour to complete, by seeing the excellent materials you have produced turned to the just account.

There is danger in delay in such a case, through our disregard of the fair claims of the people, with whom the voluntary extension of colonies brings us into daily contact. In South Africa much blood has recently been shed without the slightest justification: whilst the valuable exertions of missionaries and of other persons, in favour of the natives, are at this moment greatly disturbed there by our violation of the most obvious duties.

In other settlements also, as in New South Wales, our illegal and false views are causing the continuance of unnecessary sufferings, which such intervention as yours can, it may be feared, alone alleviate.

A little experience in the scenes of our present course is calculated to make deep impressions in regard to the weakness of that course, and in regard to its evils to all whom it affects. Equally baneful to ourselves and to others, it surely becomes every one who has witnessed its operation to bear testimony, however humble, to the depravity of its character.

If we, the civilised, could not, physically, exist in the same land with the barbarian and the savage without destroying them, it would be a paramount duty to discourage the extension of colonies; but history, early and recent, where the civilised have been just, shows all men to be capable of improvement; and the same experience also shows, that doing justice is the grand means to ensure the amelioration and the mutual safety of the most dissimilar races. The opinion of our inevitable hostility with our neighbours and weaker subjects abroad, must consequently be rejected: and so long as it is open to us to cease from being wilfully unjust in our daily relations with them, we must not despair of raising the most simple to the true point of political well-being,—a state of self-protection.

It is impossible to justify our present course of destroying every where those, whose only crime is, that they precede us in the possession of lands, which we desire to enjoy to their exclusion:—and in regard to Africa, there is a strange inconsistency in expending lives and treasure upon its western shores, even with the best general consequences; whilst we suffer safe and cheap means of improving the same continent in another quarter, to be worse than wasted.

The African Institution has earned a justly honorable name, by supporting what is benevolent upon those

western shores; and will receive, without reluctance, the suggestion, that in the south, with a frontier of a thousand miles calculated to justify equal hopes, needless impediments, at least, to their cause, should no longer exist. But if holding, as we must do, various colonies for mere political objects, it can be shown that political interests will be strengthened by the performance of our best duty to the Aborigines, you will find new motives for extending your activity beyond its present limits; and the following pages are, with great deference, presented to the public and to you, in order to show that duty to be compatible with our interests on this important subject.

THE AUTHOR.

Lincoln's Inn, 1829.

CONTENTS.

FIRST OR INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Page

Danger of the native tribes in our colonies, unless further exertions be made to save them . . 1
New South Wales, Canada, and South Africa . . 7
Portuguese settlements in South Africa . . 11
Sketch of requisite reforms 13
Probable effects of such reforms . . . 18
Principles enjoined by the constitution towards the natives 23

CHAP. II.

MEANS AVAILABLE FOR CIVILISING THE ABORIGINES OF THE COLONIES, AND ESPECIALLY THE NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

(1.) Justice duly dispensed 26
Compulsory poverty an obstacle to redressing private wrongs 27
Cases of injustice, 1828 and 1829 . . . 29
Remedy by an organised publicity in reports of decisions 32
Law of evidence 40
Country jurisdictions 41

Page

Public wrongs unredressed . . . 42
Evils of discretionary power . . 44 and 49
The natives appreciate justice . . . 45

CHAP. III.

(2.) LANDS DULY RESPECTED WHILST BELONGING TO THE NATIVES; AND DULY DISTRIBUTED AFTER BEING ACQUIRED BY THE CROWN.

Land in new countries usually an incentive to exertion,—we make it an obstacle by injustice . 51
Natives' right to land 52
Stuurman's case 55
Koopman's case 56
Intruders 60
Bushmen's case 61
The advancing settlers may benefit the natives . 68
Intruders on the Griquas, &c., in 1829 . . 70
The neutral land at the Cape 73
Proceedings of 1829 in the neutral land: expulsion of Caffres—part granted to Hottentots—alarms of Caffre invasions—execution of the new law of intercourse—civilization of the Caffres impeded 90—108

CHAP. IV.

(3.) TRADE DULY PROTECTED.

Resources of South Africa mistaken . . 109
The trade must be free and open to small capitalists . 111
Ivory 113
Increase of ivory, hides and horns . . . 114

Page

Beaufort fair 117
Articles wanted in the interior . . . 125
Productions of the interior . . . 126
Caffre fairs 127
Produce of cattle 132
Probable extent of trade 134
Portuguese trade in the interior of Mosambique . 139
Manufactures of the natives 142
Dutch trade in 1724 143
Trade must be combined with justice and civilization, in order to be successful 145

CHAP. V.

(4.) POLITICAL INTERCOURSE DULY KEPT UP.

Mistakes from ignorance of the state of the natives . 149
Expense and bloodshed, caused by ignorance . 151
Campaign of 1828 152
What intercourse required, and its probable effects . 160
Numbers of the Amakosæ, or Cape Caffres . . 168
———— Other south-eastern tribes . . 172
Opinions of the commissioners of inquiry . . 174
Objections to political intercourse with the natives . 175
Advantages :—1. Lessening expense. 2. Increase of trade. 3. Increase of free labourers. 4. Advancing civilisation 176

CHAP. VI.

(5.) SUPPORTING WELL-DISPOSED COLONISTS.

Sir George Murray's mistake . . . 178
At all times some of the colonists humanely disposed 181

Page
The government has hitherto taken the wrong side . 181
Opinions on the character of the colonists . . 186

CHAP. VII.

(6.) SUPPORTING THE WELL-DISPOSED NATIVES.

Capacity of the Natives . . . .
Hottentots 101
Caffres, or Amakosæ 197
T'Conga's tribe of Amakosæ . . . 198
Bushmen 205
The Griquas 210
The advancement of natives to superior pursuits . 224
Vices of the natives 225
Special measures proposed . . . 229

CHAP. VIII.

(7.) INSTRUCTION, RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL, DULY IMPARTED.

The promising efforts of Sir John Cradock in 1813 not followed up 231
Infant schools . . . . *Ib.*
The forts might be made the foundations of good towns 232
Medical skill . . . . . *Ib.*
The press 233
Printing official documents and books . 233-234

CHAP. IX.

(8.) THE MONEY NOW SENT FROM ENGLAND DULY EXPENDED.

Sums now wasted, might be saved by better principles 237

Page

A commissioner in the interior, and such settlements as proposed in the Appendix, would promote civilisation and save the public money . . 239

CHAP. X.

Conclusion 241
Points recommended 243

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE NATAL SETTLEMENT.

Survey of 1575 ii
Dampier's account vi
Journey from Delagoa Bay to the Cape, 1683 . xii
Mss. on Natal, 1688 . . . xiii
Maxwell's account, 1706 . . . xiv
Purry's account, 1718 . . . xv
Mss. reports from the Dutch settlement at Delagoa Bay, 1721 xvii
Drury's account, 1719 . . . xxxii
Hamilton's account, 1724 . . . xxxiii
The Doddington wreck, 1756 . . . *Ib.*
The Naarstijheid ditto, 1766 . . . xxxviii
Grosvenor ditto, 1782 xxxix

Page

Lieutenant Farewell's settlement, 1824 . xlix
Captain King's account, 1825 . . lv
Mss. account, 1826 . . lxv
Missionary account from Delagoa Bay, 1823 . lxvi
Dr. Cowie's account, 1829 . . . lxx
Missionary account, 1829 . . . lxxii
Mr. Bain's account, 1829 . . . lxxxix
Arguments in favour of a settlement at Natal xciv—cvi

No. 2.

Narrative of civil transactions between the white people and the aborigines at the Cape of Good Hope cvii
Governor Van Ricbeck, 1652 . . cviii
The rise of evil principles . . . cxii
The aggressions and treaty of 1659 . . cxiii
The outrage and impunity of 1702 . . cxv

No. 3.

Civil affairs unto 1829 . . . cxix
Reforms begun, 1795 . . . *Ib.*
Non-intercourse with the natives persevered in—the Dutch and English law . . . cxx
Evil conduct of the frontier settlers . . cxxi
Boundaries in 1798 cxxii
Dr. Vander Kemp's correspondence with Sir George Yonge, Sir Francis Dundas, and others.—Indecision of the English government with good intentions—Justice not done . . cxxiv- clxxix

Page

Dr. Vander Kemp's correspondence with Governor Janssens.—Good intentions; but ultimate falling off of the last Dutch Government . clxxx—clxxxix

Dr. Vander Kemp's correspondence with General Grey, Lord Caledon, and Sir John Cradock.—Falling off of the English after good promises . clxxxix

Non-intercourse system continues until 1823 . cc

Proceedings of 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829 . ccxxix

No. 4.

Missionary proceedings ccxxxiii

No. 5.

The aborigines of New South Wales . . ccxxxix

Nos. 6 and 7.

Further reasons in favour of the proposed settlement at Natal ccxlv

No. 8.

Ordinances Nos. 49 and 50 . . . cclv

No. 9.

The map, and population . . . cclix

No. 10.

List of books cclxvii

No. 11.

Colonel Collins' journal cclxxi

Page

No. 12.

Canada narrative cclxxiii

No. 13.

As to giving lands to Hottentots, and Stuurman's case cclxxvii



A L Delin

London Published by T & G Underwood. 32 Fleet Street.

C Hughes Lithog Strand.

AN INQUIRY, &c.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

JUST feelings have, of late years, spread widely in favor of the uncivilised inhabitants of European settlements abroad. The more actively philanthropic part of the British public in particular, has directed great exertions successfully in their behalf. It is nevertheless but too plain to all who examine the progress of colonies with attention, that even such exertions, and the impulse which they have given to His Majesty's government, will fail, unless the whole British public shall become more deeply impressed with the improved principles, and determine to carry them into effect, upon a scale commensurate with the necessities of the case. At present what is doing on behalf of the natives of the colonies, bears no safe proportion to the obstacles to their civilization. On the contrary, the endeavours of the advocates of just dealing with them are thwarted at almost every step by erroneous proceedings; and the support which has been given freely to their opponents, is far too much refused to the colonists and others who are favorable to humane views.

A reform however is, of late, partially commenced, which only requires judicious energy in order to be attended with the happiest results; but neglected, it will soon give way again to that local cupidity which hitherto has produced so much evil to the native people, and so much dishonor to ourselves. In some of our dependencies the treatment of the native people is almost beyond example cruel.

Our position in regard to our widely spread colonies is sufficiently important to render a decidedly progressive reform of the old evils most desirable. Nor can the present state of things in this respect be said to be new. In several great points the colonies hold the same political and territorial relations to numerous uncivilized tribes, in which the Roman empire stood in regard to the barbarians around it; and there seems no reason to doubt that the union of our neighbours with us now may be made as conducive to general improvement as happened in their case. The northern people, although conquerors, submitted in many cases to the manners of Rome, and with reasonable speed willingly adopted her new religion, after the influence of her arms ceased. It was probably the rise of Mahomet, not any inferior genius in the Asiatics and Africans, that stopped the steady progress of Christianity *begun to be introduced equally well with them as in the ruder north.* Unquestionably, after such its introduction among Asiatics and Africans, a decline succeeded,—which has usually been attributed to their physical inferiority. But other causes are not unknown, why Christian civilisation was received permanently by some nations when others lost it, although

at the first cultivated by them with success. It assuredly therefore deserves inquiry, how far Great Britain is in a condition, in the colonies composed chiefly of Mahometan and Pagan people, to act upon what was clearly successful in early times; and also, how far she may now avoid so much of the past policy as has been found to be injurious.

If Rome in decay could scatter the seeds of improvement over a large part of the earth, to become in after ages a more effectual basis of her fame than her conquests were when she was most powerful, we may reasonably hope to acquire greater renown, if principles equally useful to mankind are adopted by us when we possess power to ensure their more extensive progress. A fair examination of facts will probably show that our conduct, not any thing peculiar in the character of the barbarians with whom we are now communicating, must determine the result of that communication. A minute comparison of their condition with that of the Goths, and Vandals, and Huns would illustrate the subject with great advantage.*

Northern nations of Europe received Christianity, but it was after more than a hundred years' teaching, and with a gradual increase of knowledge and power gained by their chiefs, and numerous benefits conferred upon the people. In modern times, however, with little advantage of tuition of any kind, all the uncivilised races have met with insult and injury at the hands of the pro-

* See Gibbon in several chapters, and particularly in ch. xx; ch. xxxiv; not. 27—29, &c.; ch. xxxv; ch. xxxviii; and ch. xxxix; and his very judicious general remarks.

fessors of the new religion. They listen willingly to the missionaries, who recommend the truth of their lessons by the secular benefits conferred on their hearers. But they have found the large majority of the white men their unvarying oppressors, and even hostile to the missionaries, so generally their only friends. Such observations are not, it is hoped, censorious; nor will the policy they lead to fail to conduce so much to our internal strength, that we shall obtain the ordinary reward of true philanthropy, by finding obedience to its dictates the best security for our own welfare. In the following papers it is endeavoured to be shown that the King's colonies* may be so administered as to produce both results. They relate chiefly to settlements which seem to be the most favorably circumstanced for the views which they advocate, and where the author had means of seeing many of his principles tried practically. Aware of the influence which strong preconceptions against the common course might have upon his views, he endeavoured to detect errors in them by carefully examining the counter-arguments produced by self-interest on the spot. The result is, an increased conviction of the soundness of the principles relied upon, and of the great extent to which they are neglected.

It has also appeared to the writer, that several practical remedies are available, in order to mitigate the evils noticed—evils heretofore described so often that the details of facts are introduced only as illustrations of the proposed remedies, not as local narratives; and it is chiefly to offer the remedies to public consideration

* The King's Colonies.—The great questions which affect India are purposely left out of the case.

that the subject is discussed. In former publications such discussions have, generally, been confined to invectives against the unfeeling policy of Europeans, or to unavailing regrets over the incapacity of savages;—except in the papers of missionaries,* whose peculiar duties and caution have, as generally, induced them to avoid civil topics. Many points, therefore, of the first importance seem not to have received the minute attention, which alone can produce the great improvements needed to save British power abroad from deep reproach. Whilst partial reforms are begun, which, as in Ceylon, are attributable to accident,† not to system; in most other places we are advancing as usual, apparently careless of the rights of those, whose only offence consists in their unavoidable neighbourhood to us, or in the possession of lands which they are too inexperienced to defend. It seems in the highest degree unreasonable to consider the essential inferiority of any portion of

* Scarcely a book, however, has been written on the subject, from which useful hints may not be collected; and it is not intended to depreciate some excellent treatises upon it, such as the Prize Essay on civilising India, published by Dr. Mitchell of Glasgow, so early in the period of any great exertions being made for that purpose, as 1805. Commissioners of Inquiry have lately examined the state of the aborigines connected with the Cape of Good Hope. Some of their opinions have appeared in general reports on that colony, and are introduced into the following papers. Special reports on the subject appear to have been made, but they are not yet printed.

† Such as a succession of local functionaries, like Governor North, (the late Earl of Guildford,) who revived the Dutch institutions which we had reduced; and like Sir Alexander Johnstone, the late Chief Justice of Ceylon.

the human race proved, so long as the conduct of those who approach it is of a kind calculated to debase the most intellectual. We especially, as masters of their fate, are bound to distrust the selfish views heretofore entertained of their character; and not to hold the question settled, until a new course has been fairly tried. It is in vain to urge our just intentions against multiplied demonstrations of our neglect of sound public policy. Nor can occasional kindness compensate the general injustice with which we are acting. One or two English and French writers have held up the Dutch in South Africa to almost exclusive reproach on this head; forgetting that they were the first of all Europeans to attempt a reform of unjust courses, and not anticipating that a succeeding government would long submit, as much as the Dutch did, to evil local influence; although furnished with far better opportunities for checking it than ever before existed. There is, indeed, little distinction to be made between any of the European governments in their treatment of their colonised subjects. Much good was always done by individuals of all nations toward the natives of the colonies; and the *letter* of most laws for their protection could scarcely be improved. But individuals were not supported; and adequate means have never been provided for executing the laws. The rule, therefore, of Europeans has crushed irretrievably many millions of unoffending men. So it will be with the colored subjects and neighbours of England, in South Africa, in New Holland, and elsewhere, unless colonial measures be far more improved than appears to be promised there. Indispensable means of obtaining justice are denied to the

natives. In South Africa, a Commission of Inquiry long ago recommended the most moderate steps, which are not taken; and in New Holland common right, in matters of life and death, is constantly outraged, by our neglecting the plainest principles of equity, and by our not doing what has for many years been known to be of the first necessity, if we would put the laws in force. The consequences to the unhappy natives may be anticipated without a pretence to unusual sagacity; and it is no less certain that the destruction which threatens them is also an outrage upon the British constitution, and must be presumed to be opposed to the wishes of the King's government. Instead, therefore, of querulous reflections upon events which tarnish all colonial history, it may not be useless to attempt an explanation, how the known desire to do right has to this hour been so much disappointed; and to suggest measures for ensuring in future the execution of right.

These are the purposes of the following papers, of which the principal details relate to Africa. Those drawn from the affairs of New South Wales, and a few incidents from Canada, are introduced, less to exhibit a full description of the policy pursued in those colonies, than to prove that the evils combated are not confined to one spot, and therefore are unlikely to originate in mere local circumstances; but that, on the contrary, they are so widely spread as to indicate a deeply rooted origin in our general government of distant dependencies.

The part of Africa to which the papers relate, lies south of the Equator beyond the 15th degree of lati-

tude ; including the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with Caffre Land, and other countries towards Benguela, Lattakoo, Natal, and Mosambique.

It is not intended to enter at large into the condition or character of such of the Hottentot and Caffre tribes as are spread over almost the whole of this space, and probably over a much greater part of the continent; but in the Appendix is given a list of numerous authorities upon those heads. Nor is the map published with professions of geographical accuracy or discovery; although it contains several facts not introduced into others of recent date. It was added to the papers, in order to show with more clearness that the principles contended for affect many populous countries; not, as a recent writer has strangely thought one part of it to be, "a long line of coast," in a great measure destitute of human beings.

Mr. Barrow, who is alluded to, enjoys a reputation which renders his errors important, and they appear to have influenced public measures at the Cape. Recent bloody proof has been given of this error; and any attempt founded upon it to seize this depopulated* line, will not fail of increasing miseries little needing such aggravation.

Throughout great part of the adjoining countries however, to the eastward, so far as they are known to us, the population is in reality considerable ; and much of the soil is ordinarily good, although much is so barren, that the tribes whom we are driving from their few fruitful fountains into the wilderness, find in its sterility an aggravation of their loss.

* Quarterly Review, No. L. p. 466. 1821.

But a very small part of the map is filled up from local inquiry. It was framed upon previous publications, with the advantage of access to draughts from some recent surveys.

Captain Riou, who in 1790 published the journal of the visitors to the Grosvenor, placed the wreck of that ship between lat. 27°. and 28°. instead of lat. 30°. 30′. the probable true spot. He unwarily assumed their route to have been direct along the coast, over which he has therefore distributed the rivers which they passed; whereas it was carried circuitously many miles into the interior, skirting a small portion only of the sea-side. A careful perusal of the journal, with the map now prepared, and a consideration both of the time spent in the journey, and of the difficulty of the way, will place the error beyond question.*

The transactions of a recent bloody campaign were noted from miscellaneous accounts collected during its progress, and the line of march was taken from the engineer's notes. Mr. Farewell's limits at Natal are laid down from the description in the deed by which he purchased his lands from the native chief. It will be seen that this country is less known beyond the coasts than any other part of the interior near us. It was the line which Dr. Vander Kemp would have attempted to explore twenty years ago for missionary objects, had he not been prohibited by the colonial government. In the present year two English travellers have set out from Albany with the intention, as is reported, of penetrating to Lattakoo by way of Natal. They were safe in March

* The error of former maps was corrected in Mr Thompson's "South Africa," from a discovery by Mr. Farewell on the spot.

near the Amapondas country. Messengers also have reached the Cape safe from Natal recently, and traders not uncommonly make excursions far in the same direction. The more remote interior has been traced from Portuguese publications, compared with documents sent from a Dutch factory at Delagoa Bay in 1720, and with recent accounts from missionary and other travellers.

In 1683 and in several subsequent years, remarkable wrecks occurred upon the eastern coast; and it has been endeavoured to collect the history of their crews, so far as it describes the country. The true origin of a few individuals of mixed race, who have long attracted attention in this part of the world, may perhaps be now said to be cleared up, or at least enough of light is produced to prove that many of the unfortunate voyagers from whom they sprang were treated humanely by the natives. To this there have been exceptions, as in the case of the survivors from the Grosvenor wreck; in regard to whom the facility with which several other crews procured relief on this coast renders the loss of Captain Coxon of that ship, with his numerous passengers and people, a distressing mystery. The missionary and other settlements about to be formed in this country may throw light upon it, inasmuch as many natives must be old enough to remember the whole transactions, and as their language and confidence will speedily be gained. Upon the same subject, it is also probable that further details may be collected from official and private papers, still to be found in Holland and at the Cape of Good Hope. The authorities in the Appendix will show what materials exist, from which the navigation of the east-

ern coast, and the general condition and character of the inhabitants, might have been well known when the Grosvenor was lost; so that the little success of those who sought for the surviving crew may be attributed to the insufficiency of the means put into the hands of the enquirers.

The progress of the Cape colony, and of settlers and traders beyond it, has been ascertained partly from proclamations and printed books, and partly from manuscripts and other information collected to a late date. Both early and recent transactions have been carefully described from documents and from letters but little known. Of the last, those written by Dr. Vander Kemp will perhaps be thought valuable.

It is not to suggest aggression upon the Portuguese, that the map includes any part of their settlements. The grand point of difference between us, the Slave Trade, is on this side hastening to an end; and more useful modes of intercourse may be expected to succeed it, narrowing disputes to one of territory; which is a subject at present of inconsiderable moment. The limits of the Portuguese on the coast are fixed: and it is only doubtful what they claim in the interior, parallel to the extreme northern and southern points to which they run upon the two oceans. We must soon however reach their borders; and an amicable arrangement is required before serious differences arise. Under old treaties, the eastern coast was opened to the Dutch as far as Cape Corrientes. A factory (noticed in the Appendix, No. 1.) was founded by them in Delagoa Bay in 1721; and the instructions from Amsterdam, which directed its formation, include a latitude beyond that bay; but

since the factory was abandoned about 1730, the Portuguese have exercised undisputed dominion down to that point, and they now possess a fort there. In the treaty of the 18th October, 1825, relative to the Slave Trade, it is fixed as the limit of the Portuguese territories south of Mosambique. Between it and the eastern frontier of the Cape, the country was open, upon European principles, to any occupant; until, in 1824, Lieutenant Farewell of the English Navy acquired the small harbour of Natal with some land adjoining, and so gave the sovereignty over it to His Majesty. The Dutch had purchased the same spot in 1690, but abandoned it more than a century ago.

The prospects of South Africa would be more promising, if the Portuguese colonies could be reformed; and if our present altered course be still more improved, as it easily may be, there are as direct and unobjectionable modes by which we may hope to gain the co-operation of their rulers. In order to avoid the embarrassing collisions which are not far distant, mere colonial and British interests should be merged in the noble cause of civilising Africa; and it is attempted to be shown in the following pages, how and to what extent the measures calculated to promote it will open a considerable trade, and honorably advance our own local resources. If rights are protected, and if we abstain from unfair approaches towards Mosambique, the Portuguese may possibly be induced hereafter to concur with us in various steps for advancing the aborigines. In 1826 their government not only declared that the time was come to put an end to the traffic in slaves to America, but also gave a pledge to co-operate for its total extinction.

We, indeed, are most especially bound to do even more than forbear from any course that may indicate a desire to obtain an extension of territory, at the expense of either Europeans or of Africans; and one object of the following pages is, in some degree, to show that on this head we cannot escape reproof, except by a very decided and extensive improvement of our own measures. It is also attempted to add something to the proofs already before the public, that the wrongs inflicted upon South Africa, and the slow progress of civilisation there, are to be attributed to the governments, English as well as Dutch, and by no means to an *irresistible* spirit of injustice in the colonists, or to the "irreclaimable" barbarism of the aborigines. Some considerations are adduced to show that upon the present system of administering the frontiers of the Cape of Good Hope, we shall not only still ensure a continuance of unmerited suffering, but increase our present great expences; the permanency of which will be as needless as they are now unproductive of lasting good. Nor are propositions for such improvement of the system upon this spot open to the objections reiterated against the philanthropic colonies in Western Africa. The Cape is held for political purposes, and will be long retained, whatever effect our possession of it may produce upon the natives. A merely English politician may have doubts upon a new establishment, for example, at Fernando Po; but he can justly urge none in regard to a reform in the management of the Cape frontiers, if that reform will conduce to economy, and to the stability of our local power.

Important changes have been begun in the last five

years; but it would be a fatal error to be content with those changes. What is accomplished is good, chiefly, as proving that more may be attempted with advantage. Indeed, we have not yet effectually stopped the ordinary course of outrage upon men's natural rights, for which we have so much to answer. The bloody events which took place so late as in July and August 1828, prove farther discussion to be needed, in order to put down the old system of unjustifiable wars on our part; and the rejection of the advice of the Commissioners of Inquiry shows that His Majesty's ministers are unaware of the importance of better principles to the true interests of the Cape colony. The transactions now in progress as to land at the Cape, and the treatment of the natives of New Holland, will illustrate this point.

The progress of religious missions will be shewn as an argument, that what government ought to do, may be attempted with a clear prospect of success.

The government and missionary societies have necessarily two distinct rules of conduct. Missionaries can make exertions only commensurate with limited means, often unequal to purposes desirable to be effected. The government has boundless power in regard to certain objects, and cannot justify abstaining from the works incumbent upon it, until they be accomplished. Civilising the natives, if we will have colonies, is one of those works. It is enjoined by law, and has always been one professed motive for founding colonies. It is also desired by the native people, and proved by the missionaries to be practicable. This good cause receives a further strong recommendation from the probability that its success will most effectually promote the due discharge of all the

civil functions of society ; inasmuch as the government, when pursuing the *same* methods which have given the confidence to missionaries, will acquire a greater influence in proportion to the superiority of its means over theirs.

The duty of making the attempt has, indeed, always been admitted in words ; and it has from time to time been distinctly acknowledged by a partial performance. But it is so far from being effectually performed, that no proof can probably be adduced of even a calculation being made of the means necessary for the purpose, or of any resolution to supply them. On the contrary, a just consideration of the rights of the natives is as yet confined to a party; and their destruction is contemplated by some persons with as much calmness as if a mere transition of inanimate elements, incapable of personal suffering, were in progress ; with how much propriety a little local experience shews. The figure is pleasant in the closet, that the uncivilised man melts " as snows in sunshine" before " superior" capacities ; but all who know our colonies can testify that the actual and slow operation of his ruin has many painful accompaniments. Outraged affections, the greatest physical wants, and often cruel inflictions of bodily pain, mark his tedious decay ; whilst the small endeavours which might bring him to a state of improvement are withheld. In his struggle with the civilisation which is hateful to him only because it has been injurious, and with but few intervals of leisure for enjoying the benefits we may confer after he is partially civilised, he is generally stript of his accustomed means of independent subsistence, and finds it replaced by a condition of hopeless labor or pre-

carious vagabondage. They whose minds are reconciled to holding these sufferings cheap, by setting in competition with them the immediate interests of the white man, are not ready to allow weight to arguments rested upon principles of justice. Such persons also long resist the proofs which experience presents, that honesty to others is at the last the best policy to ourselves, and are more likely to yield to what shows the immediate folly of our present proceedings than to any demonstration of their iniquity. To their consideration, therefore, are hereafter addressed a few calculations, of the expense and inefficacy of the existing system.

Urgently, however, as the wrongs inflicted upon the African demand reparation in the persons of his surviving descendants, and strong as the mere political arguments are which every year adds in favor of such reparation being made, the common exclusive reproaches against the colony chiefly treated of on the subject, are, as already hinted, unjust. We owe much here to our colored fellow-men, but neither Africa nor the Cape government stand alone under such a claim. No less is due in both Americas than upon this continent; and the poor natives of Australia should find advocates to defend them from their purely English oppressors. Here especially we are narrowing their means of subsistence by appropriating their lands without attempting compensation; and in having made New South Wales a receptacle for convicts, we are destroying them by one* of

* A parallel seems to exist in Kamschatka in the transportation of Russian convicts. See Captain Cochrane's Travels, and the Lives of Benyowski and Ledyard. See Commons' Journals, v. 37. and 40.

the most miserable moral and physical pestilences known upon earth. If at the Cape of Good Hope many* amongst the colonists have often outraged humanity, every Christian administration will be found to have imposed insufficient restraints upon them, and to have neglected the most obvious guards and inducements to invite the natives to share in peace the advantages which white men can impart. There is clear evidence of a portion of the people being always well disposed to the Aborigines; and it is only necessary that the government should make proper exertions, and exercise a proper spirit of self-denial to increase the number.

Two centuries of experience, under almost every variety of circumstances, ought to have removed some difficulties hitherto adverse to sound principles on the subject; and it is thought that colonial history establishes certain principles with clearness enough to justify their being acted upon firmly on a great scale, and that a wise, although not a very large, expenditure of British money will call wild talents into wholesome activity, and with their instrumentality raise useful civil institutions upon the frontiers of the Cape, from the Atlantic to the Eastern Ocean. By arguing for the application of British funds to civilising the tribes, it is not proposed to open permanently new sources of expenditure. But if exertion to that end can be shown likely to be useful, it is conceived that establishments for civilising barbarous people ought to be preferred to those which, as in Canada, are kept up in order to put arms into their hands

* In a section upon the means existing in this colony for promoting an improved course, the character of the inhabitants in this respect will be further noticed.

against our enemies, or, as at the Cape, for mistaken methods of defending ourselves. Whilst the latter expenses never cease, the former afford speedily the means of being diminished, or substantially compensated, by multiplying internal improvement, and by opening new resources in trade, upon which some details will be offered. At the Cape, surely the object most fit to be contemplated by a statesman, beyond our limits, is the improvement of the natives; and if they will unquestionably become profitable neighbours to the colony in proportion to their civilisation, it will be wise to make an inconsiderable increase, or give a new direction to expenses now incurred worse than in vain. In this view the following statement is submitted to consideration, as indicating that principles of peaceful intercourse, and fresh measures for insuring it, may be applied to all our relations with the aborigines with very great advantage to ourselves. Due provision for effecting such a system would promote all the present and greater establishments for religious instruction, and encourage the various qualities, the exercise of which forms the civilised man; and which hitherto have been stifled in the South Africans solely by external circumstances.

The instances of a few tribes favorably placed, have been selected out of voluminous materials ; which, however, do little more than add to the common proofs of a fact too clearly established, that *Christians crush the colored people by treating them with steady, habitual injustice; whilst ordinary exertions applied to bring bodies of them into social activity, will as clearly lead to the happiest results.*

It is admitted that the difficulties opposed to their

safety and civilization are great. The subject is not new; and most able and excellent men have failed in no inconsiderable endeavours to meet those difficulties. But we have the benefit of their experience; and it is conceived that just exertions will call forth instruments where they are now least thought to exist. A due regard paid to those who are leaders amongst the natives themselves, will cherish a more substantial respectability in their own and in our eyes; and the searching execution of justice in the various relations between us, will pave the way to improvements of every kind; calculated in a few years to raise our neighbours *to a condition in which they may safely be left to their own guidance.* On this subject, beyond, and within the colony of the Cape in particular, there is now open for good or for evil a most extensive field. All the numerous travellers in this part of the world describe the natives near us as well disposed. Many mention them in affectionate terms of approval; and some with gratitude for protection in delicate conjunctures. Sometimes, doubtless, outraged by cruelty, they have been undistinguishing, although never unmeasured in retaliation; and sometimes yielding to a cupidity which they knew to be unlawful, these people have in the latter case only given a proof similar to what occurs daily in our own domestic life, that incautious exposure of property is wrong; as in the former instance they have also only shown how dangerous our neglect is, which leaves revenge to act for justice. To the remark that "revenge is a kind of wild justice," Lord Bacon adds, "which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out." The first part of the maxim is quoted often enough;

the second rarely: and the remedy of the admitted evil of revenge—viz. *the introduction of law*—is little thought of where the effect would be most beneficial. If barbarous little chieftaincies are often the instruments; and the undue rewards of a violence, which is crying aloud for our cautious intervention; they may also, by ambitious chiefs being better stimulated, be led to correct themselves and many other evils. Strong testimony shows that the crime will be ours, if the natives of South Africa continue to perish unaided on our approach; and it is clear that the Government of England, holding extensive possessions in that country, has therefore a specific duty to perform of so much greater consequence, as the happiness of unknown millions to the north is concerned in the policy we may now adopt. The present period is particularly favorable for these views; since our good intentions begin to be appreciated correctly. It is not only on the western coast that white men may be hailed *as messengers of peace, come with blessings wherever they pass*;*—in the south also the same feeling will soon be universal, if we act towards the natives with common sense and humanity. In South Africa there will be little difficulty in overcoming the suspicion of our covert design to conquer the country; which, through the eastern connections of the Mahometans, is deeply rooted in the north. Amongst the tribes near the Cape, this suspicion naturally exists; but in so much more slight a degree, that doing justice in regard to lands which we are now intruding upon, as hereafter described, would go far to efface it,

* Clapperton's 2nd Journey, p. 24.

with little probability of revival, if we adopt a few obvious means applicable to every state of society, of safely regulating our progress. There prevails, however, an extraordinary reluctance to act upon such views in colonies. We decide that the aborigines, with whom we have so much to do there, are *naturally* unfitted for what we justly call a better state than their own; and we lament our inability to make them see the value of that which nevertheless we do the utmost to make hateful. We do not fail, however, to be vigorous when they are to be injured; whilst our energies are crippled only when required to protect them. Instead of adapting means to the desired end, and of removing obstacles, as is usual in other designs,—in this of advancing civilisation, we deny to the savage much that his situation obviously requires; and such benefits as we do offer to him are accompanied by circumstances calculated to insure their rejection. The apologist for colonial aggressions, and for the neglects of His Majesty's Government, cannot resist the facts substantiating these remarks, which a little reading abundantly suggests; whilst a very little experience in colonial affairs proves, beyond all contradiction, that the means of doing ordinary justice in distant countries connected with us are yet to be devised.

In reference to the Cape these views seem to be peculiarly reasonable, inasmuch as they may be respected there at less cost, and more effectually than in any other part of the world—at once promoting the political objects for which the colony is held, by strengthening its internal defences; and also justifying communication with the natives, by making intercourse useful to them and to ourselves. A new, insulated, or remote settle-

ment is not projected: we are already upon the spot for the sake of interests in India, which will not be abandoned; and we are unable to stop the white people, who are daily spreading in the interior. It therefore is obviously wise to combine with these existing interests the benevolent views in regard to Africa, which so honorably characterise the present times.

A principal aim of the following pages is to show that this may be done by exertions not unfairly to be expected from ordinary men, provided the Government will but firmly correct its own errors. It is contended that the obstacles to which civilised people wilfully subject the savage, have been more fatal to him than the defects of his own condition; and the well-known difficulties of the subject will probably be much diminished by such unsparing but not censorious examination of public measures, as is proposed to be made in this volume. The Appendix contains narratives of many civil transactions with the natives at the Cape of Good Hope, in New South Wales, and in North America; together with the proceedings of religious missionaries in South Africa, to be contrasted with those civil transactions: and the text submits to the public consideration various means for substantially correcting the errors to which, it is conceived, the Government will continue to be exposed, unless a considerable reform be enforced.

A better recommendation of such views could not perhaps be found, than in the following Royal Instructions to a body now represented on this subject by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"Forasmuch," said Charles II. to the Council of Foreign Plantations, "as most of our said colonies do bor-

der upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are in our name to command all the Governors that they at no time give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us.

" And forasmuch as some of the natives may be of great use to give intelligence to our plantations, or to discover the trade of other countries, or to be guides to places more remote, or to inform our governors of several advantages that may be within or near to our several plantations not otherwise capable to be known to them, we do require you to give strict orders that Indians desiring to put themselves under our protection be received.

" And that the Governors do by all ways seek firmly to oblige them ;

" And that they do employ some persons to learn the languages of them ;

" And that they do not only carefully protect and defend them from any adversaries, but that they more especially take care that none of our own subjects, nor any of their servants, do any way harm them ;

" And that if any shall dare to offer any violence to them in their persons, goods, or possessions, the said Governors do severely punish the said injuries agreeably to justice and right.

* * * * *

" And you are to consider how the Indians and slaves may be best instructed, and invited to the Christian religion ; it being both for the honour of the Crown, and of the Protestant Religion itself, that all persons within

any of our territories, though never so remote, should be taught the knowledge of God, and be acquainted with the mysteries of Salvation."*

Instructions for the Council for Foreign Plantations, 30th July, 1670.

These instructions are, doubtless, binding on the Secretary of State for the Colonies now; and the spirit of them, it is hoped, will guide these pages.

* The failure of the Bill "for the instructing of the negroes in the plantations, in the knowledge of the Christian Religion," along with many other circumstances, shews how little these instructions have been acted upon. The Bill to which such a clause was ordered to be added, was entertained in the House of Commons in Queen Anne's time.—Boyer's reign of Queen Anne, folio. p. 447.

CHAPTER II.

Means available for civilising the Aborigines of the Colonies; and especially the Natives of South Africa.

It is conceived that the destruction of the aborigines now so apparently irresistible in many British colonies, may be checked effectually, if we act firmly upon the principles of the constitution; enjoining, as it does, so many duties directly bearing upon this difficult and important subject.

The obstacles to civilizing barbarians are unquestionably great: many arise from the conduct and unfair views of white people; many from the habits of the natives themselves. But the means at our command, which have not yet been sufficiently tried, are not few nor weak. The following heads may be taken as examples of what our relative situations afford, to promote so great an object; and it will be useful to consider what permanent benefits may reasonably be expected from them.

1. Justice duly dispensed.
2. Lands duly distributed, and unjust encroachments prevented.
3. Trade duly protected.
4. Political intercourse duly kept up.
5. The well-disposed colonists duly supported.

6. The well-disposed natives duly encouraged.
7. Instruction, religious and civil, duly imparted.
8. Money from England duly expended.

(1.)—*Justice duly dispensed.*

This head applies, first to questions of right and wrong between private persons; and secondly, to those between us and our neighbours, as separate people. In regard to the former point, a great change must be introduced before ordinary satisfaction can be obtained upon it in such colonies as the Cape of Good Hope, where the Government has most effectually multiplied its own troubles by stripping a great body of its subjects for a long time irretrievably of property. In such a case, in proportion to their degradation, it becomes necessary to redress their grievances by artificial means, or they must go unredressed. Hence arises the necessity of public guardians and registrations, which, at the best, apply but to few matters; and which experience proves to be ill-adapted to obtain the objects for which such institutions are founded. The private activity of the individuals concerned, when well off, is far more effective than any public care can be for them, when in necessitous circumstances; and one great evil of the common system of oppressing the aborigines of new countries is, that it completely paralyzes that indispensable activity. In England, although the poor seek justice under many disadvantages, yet as numbers of them have hope left, and are perpetually emerging in society, from the lowest to the highest stations, the general sympathy for sufferers of every class finds no

insurmountable obstacle any where. At the Cape, and in some other colonies on the contrary, the colored poor were first so absolutely stripped of all their possessions, and then in so many ways incapacitated from making new acquisitions, that they have the least imaginable hold upon the feelings of those who are in power.

In such a state of things, even if a good and active disposition existed at all times in the Government, its interposition would generally be ineffectual, the redress of private wrongs depending upon too many minute particulars to be left safely, unsupported by *efficient*, suffering parties.

It was therefore in vain that the legislature of Holland declared the natives of the colonies entitled "to the same measure of justice"* as the Dutch; whilst the colonial authorities were not compelled to leave their possessions undisturbed; and also to take active pains to improve their capacities to enjoy those possessions to advantage in union with the Europeans.

Present occurrences in South Africa furnish the fullest proof that the old difficulties on this head require further abatement.

It happened to the writer of these papers, to pass a few weeks at a remote district of the Cape, in December 1828, and in January 1829; when the current business of Algoa Bay and Uitenhage produced ample materials for reflection on the subject. Brutal assaults upon Hottentots by white people, British as well as Dutch, were common circumstances. Strong proof also occurred, that the performance of contracts and of civil

* See Placaat cited in the title-page.

obligations was too often evaded on the part of the employers of the natives. A general reform had been taking place during several years; and it might have been expected that public functionaries would be particularly careful to do justice in cases occurring a few months only after important new laws* had been passed, and after that reform was seriously begun. By the legal condition of the natives being raised substantially, sympathy for them was extending; which both facilitated the vindication of wrongs, and proved the new strength their cause had gained in high quarters. The occurrences however alluded to, seem to shew that something more must be done, in order to produce the necessary improvement, even in cautious and good functionaries. One of the local magistrates, understood to be generally well-disposed, and of a mild character, very recently remarked in regard to a clear case, in which success was partially gained, that he thought the rest (equally plain) should be waived. The time, said he, was, when Hottentots would have got no justice: now they wanted too much. The part gained was a criminal sentence of a fine to the crown; and the old Hottentot who was beaten, wanted damages in a civil suit, in the common way, for compensation to himself; as (he said) he had suffered more than the crown had.

Two other much more gross cases, which happened at the same time, exhibit strongly the unequal course pursued when Hottentots are concerned.

Wildschot Platjes, of Bethelsdorp, also an old man,

* Particularly General Bourke's law, called, at the Cape, the 50th ordinance.

was the complainant in the first case. He was beaten on the highway by a young boor, whom he did not know, and without the slightest justification. The man was severely flogged with a hippopotamus-hide whip, violently kicked ; and his arm was broken.

The person who committed this violence, was a tall, active young man ; the Hottentot far advanced in years. There was no apparent provocation for the assault, which took place in open day, on the high road ; where the boor on horseback overtook the old man, walking home with some earnings paid in flesh, not money, from Uitenhage to Bethelsdorp. Besides beating the poor man, the boor, under the insulting pretence of discovering a theft, carried away the bag of meat and his walking-staff, which led to the detection of the offender.

A criminal prosecution was first carried on in the inferior court ; and a fine of only 2*l.* (much below what even that court could levy,) was inflicted.

In a civil action, the damages given were 4*l.* 10*s.*, little more than half the very moderate sum of 7*l.* 10*s.* claimed ; and in this action the magistrate expressed himself to feel much difficulty at what rate to value the broken arm.

The second case is a stronger illustration of the necessity of watching the minor tribunals, where Hottentots most generally seek justice. A boor, with the assistance of several others, had bound a Hottentot to a waggon-side ; flogged him severely ; and afterwards stretching his arms to an ox-yoke, hanged him up the whole night in his, the boor's, house. The excuse was, that this was done to defend *his* land against the trespass of the Hottentot's cattle, who, *he said*, had rescued

those cattle on the way to the pound for such trespass. The assault and imprisonment were proved clearly to be unjustifiable; and a fine of 3*l.* only was inflicted in a criminal prosecution, the magistrate observing that the boor had certainly exceeded the law.

The land *alledged* to be the boor's, was proved by a witness called by himself, to belong to government; nevertheless, the magistrate remarked that the public prosecutor, who was present, should charge the Hottentot and his friends criminally for a breach of the law in this *alledged* rescue. Although it was *alledged* on the boor's part to have been a rescue, the evidence on the other side rendered it probable that the parties had consented to a release of the cattle. And at the same time, the magistrate took no notice whatever of the *other* boors' having joined in the assault upon the Hottentot—an offence proved at this trial, and not contradicted.

The boor offered 12*l.* for compensation to the Hottentot, with expressions of good-will, and of a disposition to make up the quarrel. The parties being neighbours, this was accepted by the advice of the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, *distinctly in order to meet that good feeling*;* and it was so stated to the public prosecutor, who received the terms as a notary. Nevertheless, he pressed on the criminal suit against the Hottentots in his other capacity of public prosecutor, refusing the least delay; which was asked, in order to apply to the Attorney-General and other authorities for a release

* The writer of these papers happening to be at Bethelsdorp, attended the meetings of the Hottentots on this occasion; and never witnessed more good sense and good feeling than they exhibited.

of the public offence, or for a trial at the Circuit Court. In defiance of this request, however, he urged on the criminal action for the alledged rescue, until the unjustness of it entangled him in some confusion; and he suspended it to consult the Attorney-General, who stopped the case altogether upon his own statement. A complaint was made to the Governor of the colony, who ultimately dismissed the clerk of the peace, and removed the magistrate to another district. The Hottentot afterwards brought a civil action against this boor for damages for the assault and false imprisonment, in which he recovered 20*l.* and costs, at the Circuit Court at Uitenhage in last June.

It was only by a concurrence of accidental circumstances, that in these cases the Hottentots had the benefit of experienced legal advice, and so defeated their enemies. Without it, they would have been crushed under the indisposition of the public functionaries to do them right; and it is highly probable that these examples furnish a fair criterion of the manner in which (with certain highly honourable exceptions) the judicial proceedings in the country are conducted. It was by accident also that the foregoing transactions reached the ears of the higher authorities; so that upon the present system such abuses will receive a very tardy and rare correction. The best governor cannot know facts by intuition.

We do, however, possess a ready means of applying a convenient remedy to such evils, although they cannot permanently be cured without a gradual restoration of the fair equilibrium of the different classes; in the mean time, *the greatest immediate check to them may be*

secured by giving a publicity to the proceedings of the courts of law; improving on a practice begun in 1813, and unwisely discontinued of late.

It is much to be regretted that the remarkable inquiries made in the time of Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock into numerous charges of enormous cruelty against Hottentots, have not been published. Pain might have been given to individuals by the exposure, but its effects would be as salutary to their own descendants as to those of their victims. If any doubts exist on the propriety of publishing the names of parties, the transactions alone should have been made known by authority. It is plainly losing half the value of well-administered justice, to leave its traces concealed at the time when the example would be most usefully felt. The subject will be mentioned in noticing the transactions of the London Missionary Society, through whose laudable exertions the proceedings were instituted; and something like the following scheme of reporting such cases in the Colonial Gazette is submitted to be likely to relieve the government both at home and abroad, as well as to protect the people. To a great extent it would be a certain although silent appeal to impartial eyes, of what now often goes wrong solely by its being almost sure to be unseen.

Judicial and Magisterial Reports.

(1.) At Uitenhage, before the resident, on the 22d day of December, 1828., J. Niekerk, charged criminally with an aggravated assault on Wildschot Platjes, an aged inhabitant of Bethelsdorp, whose arm he broke.

The defence, that the old man abused the defendant, was not proved.

The defendant fined 2*l.* sterling.

(2.) Ib.—12th January, 1829. A civil action between the same parties, for 100 rix-dollars damages for the same assault. A clear case, and 62 rix-dollars with costs awarded.

(3.) Ib.—January, 1829. J. M. Scheepers charged criminally with an aggravated assault on Jacob Jacobs of Bethelsdorp; whom he, with the assistance of several other farmers, bound to a waggon, flogged severely, and then hanged up to a beam the whole night, with his arms stretched on an ox-yoke.

The defence of Jacob and four other Hottentots having rescued cattle, was not substantiated.

The defendant fined 3*l.* sterling.

(4.) Ib.—At the Circuit Court in June, 1829, between the same parties, in a civil action for 100*l.* damages for the same assault, the plaintiff Jacob obtained 20*l.* and costs.

(5.) Ib.—The 29th day of January; the 30th day of January, the 2d day of February, and the 26th day of February, 1829. Jacob Jacobs, and the four other Hottentots above mentioned, were charged criminally by the public prosecutor, with having rescued the cattle on the way to the pound, as alledged in Scheeper's case.

The defendants on being summoned had entreated a few days' delay, until application could be made at Cape Town for a pardon, or for the Attorney-General's consent that the trial should come on at the Circuit Court. This delay was refused by the public prosecutor.

After various hearings, the public prosecutor himself

postponed the case, in order to obtain the Attorney-General's opinion upon it, who directed it to be stayed.

(6.) At Graham's Town, in February, 1829, before the resident, P. Tuite was charged criminally with an aggravated assault on a Hottentot. The defendant first bound her arms behind her, and then tied her to a beam, in such a position that her toes only reached the ground, and then fastened a flat piece of wood in her mouth, as a gag: in this situation the defendant beat her with a horsewhip on the back part of her body, and then left the house, locking the door after him, and leaving her suspended in the manner described. At length her cries brought to her assistance a Hottentot woman, who got in at the window and released the witness from her painful situation.

At this stage of the proceedings the resident Magistrate observed, that the circumstances detailed were of so extraordinary and aggravated a nature, that he felt bound to make it matter for a superior Court, and directed that a preliminary examination should be taken forthwith.

(7.) Cape Gazette, ———————— 1829.—A. B. the resident magistrate of Uitenhage, removed to the district of Swellendam; and C. D. the public prosecutor of Uitenhage, dismissed. (These changes have taken place in consequence of the governor having cause to disapprove the conduct of Mr. A. B. and Mr. C. D. in the cases No. 1, 2, 3, and 5, above-mentioned. His Excellency instituted various inquiries into the subject, which were pending from the ——— day of March to the ——— day of June last.) No cause for the changes was mentioned in the Gazette.

(8.) At Stellenbosch.—James Ambrose, a constable, for repeated assaults on Jan Willemse, a Hottentot.—Sentence 10*l.*

(9.) Ib.—Joanna Brand, for ill-using and wounding the head of her slave-woman.—Considerable provocation proved, but the wound not disproved.—Sentence 2*l.*

(10.) At Clanwilliam, before the resident, 13th January 1829.—Fortuin, a Hottentot, charged with stealing a sheep, and condemned to 25 lashes in the prison.

(11.) At Cape Town, before the Judge of Police, on the ——— day of ——— 1829.—Arnoldus Maasdorp, a laboring blacksmith, charged with assaulting a freeman in the shop.—Sentence 3*l.*

(12.) At Fort Wiltshire, on the —— day of —— 1829.—A. B. C. and D., four Caffres, were condemned and executed by Gaika their chief, for murdering two soldiers of the 55th regiment in the neutral ground. The trial took place upon the requisition of the colonial government. The commandant of the frontier with other authorities, civil and military, were present. Messrs. E. and F., missionaries, were also there, and a large body of Caffres.

(13.) At ——— near the mouth of the Orange river, beyond the colonial boundary, in June 1827, Naaugwhop, a Bushman, was tried and executed by the chief of the country, at the requisition of the colonial government, for the murder of the Rev. Mr. Threlfall, a missionary. Mr. Marquard, the secretary of the Clanwilliam district, was present.

N. B. 12. and 13.—The peculiar circumstances of these and of all such cases, might be abridged without difficulty in the Gazettes.

(14.) At Stellenbosch, before the sitting magistrate, on the 10th day of March 1829.—P. Le Roux and two others criminally prosecuted for illegally punishing Le Roux' slave, on suspicion of theft.—Le Roux fined 5*l.* the others 10*s.* sterling each.

(15.) At Fort Wiltshire, before the commandant, on the —— day of ———— A. B. a soldier, for tippling at the canteen No. 2. being the sixth offence, condemned six weeks extra guards, and confined to the fort the whole time.

(16.) Ib.—C. D. a Caffre helper to E. F., a trader at the fair, for cheating a Tambookie in a bargain for 15lbs. of ivory, condemned to pay double the value of the ivory, half to go to the owner and half to the common school fund.

(17.) Ib.—G. H. a Caffre Heemraad, for being drunk at the fair on the —— day of ——. Fined two oxhides to the school fund, and excluded three weeks from the fair and fort.

(18.) Ib.—J. K. charged with having murdered a Caffre. The prisoner dismissed for want of legal evidence. The case occurred in open day, in the presence of fifteen Caffres; but as they could not take an oath according to our forms, and used no form of adjuration to a Supreme Avenger of falsehood at their own trials, their evidence could not be taken.

N. B.—15, 16, 17, and 18.—It will be perceived that these are feigned cases.

No. 19. Circuit Court, George, May 1828.—Joemat Bailie of Pacaltsdorp, labourer, *v.* Francis Stietz of

George, merchant.—This was an action for an account, and to set aside a contract for servitude until an alleged debt was paid. Bailie was one of eleven Hottentots admitted by the Supreme Court to sue as paupers upon the same causes of action.

The plaintiff founded his claims for relief upon averments of fraud and oppression having been exercised against him by defendant, and upon the contract in question being void in law and equity. He claimed a balance from defendant upon due accounts being taken.

A strong case was made out in the evidence produced on behalf of the plaintiff. In reply, the defendant attempted to impute malice to the friends of the Hottentots, which attempt drew forth severe reproof from the judge, as it was clearly unfounded.

As the ten other cases depended upon this case, it was agreed to take the decree of all the Judges of the Supreme Court, by reference, upon it; the circuit Judge certifying the evidence to Cape Town.

In the meantime the Hottentots were to be left at liberty.

In these cases a point had been discussed, whether labourers owing a small sum of money, ought by law to be imprisoned, before a reasonable time is given them to satisfy the judgment by instalments. For the Hottentots it was contended that the Dutch law requires such time to be given.

Since this trial, an order in Council has been issued, prohibiting all imprisonment of Hottentots for debt. The common practice at the Cape had been to entangle men in debt in order to gain their services by what was called contract. A similar practice prevailed in North America against the Indians. See the life of Brainerd.

This method of reporting cases in the Gazette, without interfering with the ordinary newspapers, would rapidly improve the country magistrates, and also diminish the business, by diminishing offences. A few cases would perhaps excite short comments at the outset; but the certainty of decisions being looked at calmly and impartially out of court, would inexpressibly improve the administration of justice. Alone, it would be a great and cheap stimulus; although it need not, of course, prevent the more gradual adoption of other beneficial changes. It would also promote uniformity of proceedings, and give to the less experienced in one district, useful means of correcting their adjudications by comparing them with those of their neighbours. Thus, two or three judicious magistrates, without any personal assumption, might give a sound character to all the country judicatures in a most salutary way.

The foregoing cases were not sought out for a special purpose; but all except that of the Bushman murderer, and the four feigned cases, happened almost under the writer's eye casually. They indicate what is passing in a good time. That it is not new, nor brought forward from malevolence to the Dutch South Africans, will be manifest upon reading the following documents, which proceeded from the last Batavian authorities.

Letter of Governor Janssens to the Landrost of Swellendam; dated, April 10, 1803.

"If the Dutch Africans believe that their welfare is dear to me, they will do me justice. But other human beings, the Hottentots, have claims to protection, and will obtain it next to the colonists. They are born free,

and ought to be enabled to find liberty, safety, and means of subsistence, on the soil which was originally theirs. The most earnest desire of the commissary-general and myself is, that they be not ill-treated:—that no man assume to exercise cruel punishments over such as are voluntarily in their service:—that the contracts with them be just, clear, and in writing; and be observed with good faith. *No private person must dare to put them in chains,* or to chastise them. Their offences against others must be punished by the magistrates upon regular trials; and these *magistrates must hear and do them justice, when they complain of offences against themselves.*

J. W. Janssens."

Proclamation of 10*th May,* 1803.

"In order to remove the breach between the boors and Hottentots, and to convince the inhabitants that it is their interest to employ the free and cheap labour of the latter in husbandry, rather than import slaves, who are dear and dangerous to the colony, and who degrade the national character and the morals of our youth; and because *the Governor and Council believe this breach arises from the ill performance of the boors' engagements to the Hottentots, grievances as to wages, the forcible detention of themselves, their wives and children, as if they belonged to the boors, which drives the men to desperation,* and compels them to rob the innocent, in order to obtain what is unjustly kept from them by others—

"Therefore contracts to be in writing, and for a fixed time; and some other provisions enacted."

The Commissioners of Inquiry justly remark that even at present the colored population, especially in judicial matters, are exposed to prejudices most ruinous to them, which the English functionaries share with the Dutch inhabitants.

The chief remedy they have proposed, has been partially tried, by the introduction of a few strangers from Europe of the legal profession. There are serious pecuniary objections to the plan; and for other causes also, it would not supersede the necessity of printing their proceedings systematically, which seems the cheapest and most immediately practical course that can be adopted; having the further advantage above noticed of affording the means to the less experienced magistrates of correcting their errors by the unobtruded example of their neighbours, and of promoting uniformity of proceeding amongst all.

Evidence.

An essential amendment of the law must be made in all the colonies, in regard to the admission of witnesses in courts of justice; if we would not expose parties to serious risk. This point is independent of the question so much agitated in the West Indies, as to slaves being competent; it is, whether in all cases an oath shall be indispensable. What the rule is at the Cape of Good Hope, it might perplex a sagacious lawyer to state. In the English colonies, as in New South Wales, the

English rule occasions frequent and gross injustice; and at the Cape half the English rule has been introduced by no legal authority, to the derangement of what perhaps before stood upon a frail but better usage. Wherever we border upon heathen countries, as in South Africa, it often happens that persons are not qualified by law to give evidence, from their ignorance of any religion through which to be sworn; although they surpass in veracity great numbers of the professors of all creeds, who are admitted and believed without scruple; and although out of our courts these heathens would have the most implicit confidence placed in their statements. Such persons by the new Cape rule cannot be heard, although the old court is said to have received them with qualifications.

Country Jurisdictions.

The judicial institutions in South Africa are excellent in some particulars. The public prosecutor in the remote districts is an efficient officer, unknown to English colonies. He is the real guardian of the oppressed, and a check on the magistrates. The latter are improved of late by being separated from the executive authority. If the general proceedings before both were published, little seems at present to be needed for their improvement. Their expences might be lessened where the business admits it, by the clerk of the magistrate acting also as translator and clerk of the public prosecutor: more unpaid magistrates also should be appointed in remote parts of the country, furnished with paid clerks,

who should be also schoolmasters. When fewer civil commissioners become capable of doing the executive duties of the colony generally, some portion of what they now do, if it cannot be carried to a distance, should be transferred to the office of the clerk of the peace, with an additional clerk. But as these functionaries are withdrawn from the more settled part of the colony, more of them must be appointed on the frontiers, to carry on our increasing communications with the native tribes.

The second head mentioned above concerns questions of right and wrong between us and our neighbours, as distinct people, and the proper management of our mutual relations. Independently of those who are reduced to almost hopeless beggary by the Dutch and English Governments in South Africa, there are many others not yet crushed, towards whom there has also prevailed, and still prevails, a signal disregard of justice; and that chiefly because they cannot compel redress for the injuries inflicted upon them.

In 1702, as will be seen, unprovoked distant murders and robberies were proved against a large body of colonists; and the Government was so unequal to its duty, that no example was made of a single offender. The case was "passed over, with *the intention* to take good care, that no further opportunity be given to commit such acts." The natural consequence of such postponement of justice need not be enlarged upon; it has appeared in the well-known crimes which this and frequent similar infirmity has encouraged the people to commit for the last century. Nor is the past a mere worn-out tale: at the present moment the respect

due to the rights of the native tribes in South Africa is not preserved much more substantially.

The daily wrongs committed unpunished, by the encroaching boors individually, will be presently noticed. Another more striking instance, because done in our national character, has happened under a governor most friendly to the colored people; and therefore it the more strongly illustrates the nature of the system not yet sufficiently corrected. In 1828, a body of unknown people were put to death, by *mistake:* and the officer who committed the error, instead of receiving a public reproof, was soon placed in high military trust. In the same campaign the whole tribe was soon again attacked by us in a manner, to all appearance, most unjustifiable and barbarous. In regard to the first attack, there was speedily produced decisive proof of the *mistake* made: the second is involved in more obscurity. If any justifications exist, as has been alledged in favor of the commander in it, they should be made public. The Government, however, cannot be exculpated in either of these events; which spring out of neglects plainly leading to them.

But it would require little magnanimity to confess errors, although the injured are not able to revenge themselves. Justice surely is the same, whether we are dealing with the strong, or with the weak; with the well-informed, or with the ignorant; and no one will contend that if this tribe had been feared by us, we should not very actively propitiate its good-will.

The barbarous case of the neutral land is noticed hereafter; and an hundred examples might be adduced in proof of the habitual and gross disrespect, to use a

moderate term, which we thus exhibit towards those who have little power but to feel injuries, and to desire revenge. So long as we pursue this course, the difficulty is inconceivably augmented to those who would struggle for their improvement, as the great means of safety to the native people; and the unceasing professions of the Government in favor of the tribes, often to be called insincere, must always labour under the imputation of weakness. The common answer to such imputations,—that it is the duty of Government to temper their zeal for the colored people by a regard for even the prejudices of the white colonists,—is considered hereafter. But in such cases as the foregoing it seems peculiarly inapplicable. In them the Government not only stands unfettered by colonial feelings and interests, but, as may easily be shewn, acts in opposition to both.

The following document shows how long these feelings of unfairness have been in force:

"24th April, 1800.

"The Governor required a copy of the instructions which I had given to the Commissioner of the Frontier. His Excellency was not aware *that arrangements* with savages *could not be expressed in writing.* I explained to him at large what the commissioner had effected, and that he was thoroughly master of the intentions of Government, as well as of the complicated state of affairs in the interior, which would be best settled by his *discretion.*

FRS. DUNDAS."

From this view arises a habit of treating these people with disrespect, which ends in a frequent violation of their dearest interests.

It is a misapprehension only beginning to be removed, to consider that the natives do not duly estimate the great principles of international law, and even the regular procedure of courts. The foundations of many diplomatic usages are distinctly traceable in South Africa; and the substance, with often not a little of the tediousness, of judicial proceedings, may be met with there. Humboldt's curious engraving of an ancient Mexican court might find many originals amongst the Caffre tribes. The Koussas are indeed known to be great lawyers, having individual chiefs famed for their knowledge of decided cases. They are said by well-informed persons to hold mock debates, in order to be the better prepared when real business arises. Mr. Bentham, and the continental jurisconsults of Europe, would be interested to find, that in all cases the parties charged criminally or civilly not only have an opportunity of answering questions in the suit, but their replies are weighed by the judge as part of the evidence, subject to proper deductions for their interest. The foundation of the interrogating system is doubtless to be found in usages like that of the Caffres; and it deserves notice that at our requisition they lately condemned four murderers with the clearest justice, who would probably have escaped by English procedure. They were Caffres who had killed two British soldiers without provocation.

The Caffres have too what is equivalent to prosecutions for perjury, in cases of false testimony; so that to reject them as witnesses, because they have not yet

adopted the religious sanction, would be in the highest degree absurd. And they have the doctrine in full force, that a man's house is his castle, and not to be entered even under a suspicion of holding a felon, without legal warrant—that is to say, without the sanction of the head man of the village to justify the search of the beehive hut.

The disposition of the Africans to do justice, as well to claim it, was strikingly exhibited to the House of Commons in the following testimony, relative to placing a convict colony on the West Coast.

" Commodore Thompson examined by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1785, was asked, if the natives (above the Gambia) were to receive an injury from any of the convicts, what would be the consequence to the other Europeans? He said, they would immediately demand a punishment adequate to the injury, and that the offender should be given up to them: if that demand was not, or could not be complied with, they would revenge themselves on the first European they could find. Of this Commodore T. mentioned an instance in regard to some marines of his ship, who were robbed by the negroes; on the complaint of Commodore T. to the negro captain of the village, he took the offenders, and brought them to him; and after compelling the restitution of the articles stolen, he cut three marks on the cheeks of the offenders, and dismissed them. Some marines afterwards robbed the negroes. The captain of the village came to him to have the effects restored. He asked for the people to be punished, which they were; and, added Commodore T., that he was convinced if satis-

faction had not been mutually given, hostilities would instantly have ensued.

"Being asked, would not the natives be soon apprized of the situation of this colony of convicts, and consequently consider them as a distinct set of people, so as not to retaliate upon innocent traders for any injury the convicts might do them?—he said that undoubtedly they would consider the convicts as the criminals of our country; but if they could not secure the convicts who had offended them, they would indiscriminately fall upon any European they might meet, to satisfy their revenge."—Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 40. pag. 959.

"When Mr. Wall was governor of Goree, he, contrary to the laws of that country, seized several chiefs, and sold them to neutral vessels. The negroes were determined on retaliation; and Commodore Thompson had reason to believe that they were bent on seizing him as a hostage, till their chiefs should be restored."—Ib.

"Sir George Young examined, said another mischief would arise from a colony of convicts, that the natives being unable to distinguish them from other Europeans, would consider every white man as an English thief, and behave to him accordingly."—Ib. 958.

"Mr. Henry Smeathman considered the natives *vindictive*, of which he knew many instances, but one in particular. The commander of a Danish vessel ordered the head of a chief of the country to be held down to a grindstone, and the hair and skin ground off together. Near three years after, this chief and his people cut off a French ship, and murdered most of the crew by way of retaliating on white men; which

led him to think that the natives would take their revenge on the first Europeans that fell in their way, for any injury which our convicts might do them." —Ib. 957. Bacon calls this, wild justice.

Park noticed the passion of the negroes in Africa for law-suits, and adds, "if I may judge from their harangues, which I frequently attended, I believe that in the forensic qualifications of procrastination and cavil, and the arts of confounding and perplexing a cause, they are not always surpassed by the ablest pleaders in Europe."—Park's Travels in Africa, pag. 20. quoted by Mr. Mill,* who justly adds, "Dr. Robertson was sadly mistaken, when he considered the litigious subtlety of the Hindoos as a sign of high civilization." That subtlety, however, is a valuable quality, with which to work in attaining civilization.

Numerous similar principles might be shown to be understood by this people; and as thick a volume of regularly adjudged cases might be soon collected, as burthens any shelf in Lincoln's-Inn or Leyden. Little, then, need be said of the acuteness with which flagrant injustice is likely to be felt by them, when inflicted too by strangers, whom all appearances indicate not only to be planning the overthrow of their natural independence, but also the spoliation of their very poor possessions. With exact laws in force to regulate the rights of succession to chieftainces, and of superiority between various chiefs, it may be readily understood how much mischief we have caused for years, in forcing upon Gaika a lead which, after all, we could not support, and at

* India, vol. I. p. 408.

length gave up in a way the most insulting to him. There seems something altogether unworthy of our own character in what we are about,—whether we have the ill designs which foreign writers impute to us, or yield to narrow local policy, or, as is probable, are only negligent of what will give success to right views. It would be wiser, and more becoming a less uncivilised nation, to assist these people in their struggles to reach us; and whilst their half-formed jurisprudence might be the subject of much enlightened inquiry, rigidly dispensing justice on our part would induce them to adopt from us gradually, whatever is needed to improve their institutions. As a matter of useful research, as well as of practical improvement, it should be ordered that the civil agents occupied on the frontier affairs should learn accurately by what rules the respective tribes are guided on all points; so that the necessary changes be accommodated to them with ease and propriety, and so that such usages as are good be judiciously retained.

There is a common opinion that, by submitting to fixed law, we shall weaken the ties which secure tranquillity upon the outskirts of society; that political intercourse with the tribes is not susceptible of rules; and that, in order to be sufficiently vigorous, it is necessary to give up the commonest guarantees of good government, and to leave every thing, in our concerns with our less civilised neighbours, to the *discretion* of colonial rulers. Surely this view of the requisites of the case is erroneous. The lawless may be violent for a time, but they are never vigorous to the good end of diminishing the occasions of hostile interference; and they are absolutely feeble compared with those, who, understanding

the mode of checking the greatest dangers by legal redress, through that very knowledge are enabled to apply force to a lasting, effectual purpose. The *discretion*, therefore, of the local authorities must be curbed, and their power safely increased, by affording them means of greater communication with the tribes, upon the indispensable conditions of acquiring their language, and of becoming acquainted with, and, what is now so rare, of respecting their polity, their habits, and their feelings.

CHAPTER III.

(2.)—*Lands duly respected, whilst belonging to the Natives: and duly distributed after being acquired by the Crown.*

The soil, daily increasing in value, is a most important fund for promoting improvement in the natives; but hitherto the unjust seizure of it has so strongly excited their hatred, and so completely cut off other means of gradual improvement, that the land itself, through exasperated feelings for the loss, is become an obstacle rather than an incentive to their civilisation. And after we have acquired possession, it has been absolutely thrown away in regard to them, by being refused to such coloured applicants as have been civilised in spite of the most overwhelming oppressions. We have both outraged the natural sense of right, and the feelings of independence, always remarkably strong in wild people, by taking their all without attempting a compensation; and after this violent exclusion of the rightful owner, we have almost exclusively re-appropriated every acre to white people.

Both these evils are, at present, in far greater vigor than their correctives, and threaten so to remain, if the colonial governments be not much enlightened on the subject.

The latter head, namely, refusing land to worthy

coloured applicants, chiefly concerns the natives within the colonies and at the Cape; the fact of their having been prevented obtaining ordinary colonial grants, is now put beyond further controversy. A parliamentary document, indeed, of 1826, proved six of them to have received altogether 200 acres in seven years; and a note accompanies that return, which seeks to exonerate the Government by attributing the fact to the voluntary failure* of the Hottentots in making applications for land. We may, however, see from the unexceptionable testimony of Lichtenstein, that colonial obstacles were in their way; and in July 1828, Lieut.-Governor Bourke passed a new law, in which it is recited, that *doubts had* arisen upon the competency of the Hottentots, and other free persons of colour, to purchase or to possess land in the colony; and therefore he thought it necessary to declare all grants to them to be valid.

The unjust system thus extinguished in principle, to the great honour of this Governor, remains to be destroyed in practice by his successors giving lands to deserving people of the classes, whose title he only cleared of the past objection. The system was begun by the Dutch, who gathered its natural fruit in a fugitive, or hostile, sinking population. In the story of the Griquas, it can be shown what little regard was paid, at

* "It is the *practice* of the Hottentots, when not in service, to repair to one of the Moravian or other religious institutions. The applications for lands, therefore, by this class, are rare."—Charles H. Somerset, Cape of Good Hope, 16th October, 1824. Such applications are now beginning to be made, as may be seen in the documents in this chapter.

an early period, to the fair claims of a body of Christians on the northern frontier. We are now reaching them again, and it will be soon seen whether the past has afforded an useless lesson. In 1796, and for several following years, the system promised to be effectually checked. Sir James Craig had respected with firmness the territorial rights of one tribe of Caffres. In 1799, the insurgent Hottentots distinctly claimed some land, 1 Barrow, 394; and we shall see below what were the sentiments of the Government in regard to these claims. But the transactions of 1801 and 1802 cannot be reflected upon without the deepest regret, that the good designs entertained by the two Governors, Sir George Young and Sir Francis Dundas, were not more steadily executed.

It is remarkable that at this period there was considerable apprehension that the French would effect an invasion in Caffreland, in support of the disaffected boors; whose influence with the Caffres, and even with some of the Hottentots, rendered it *prudent* to counteract their attack, by a liberality which might conciliate these persecuted people to us. The consequence was, as shown in the narrative of civil affairs for this period, that on the danger being over, our zeal in the cause of humanity grew cold.

Dr. Vander Kemp, ever keenly alive to the essential points upon which the civilisation of the native people turns, from the beginning pressed the necessity of land being set apart for the Hottentots. In 1801, he was solicited by Stuurman for assistance in obtaining a spot to settle on, and to be instructed in the Christian Religion; and this excellent man then feelingly deplored their

"wretchedness for want of food, instruction, liberty, useful employment, and *a spot which*, under the superintendence of Government, *they might* in some measure *call their own*."* We shall see the ill effects of this acknowledgment of the right course being neglected. In 1803, the Dutch returned, and were not unaware of the importance of the same wise principles. Governor Janssens began well, although tardily, by giving a tract of country to the brave Stuurmans, to whom Sir Francis Dundas had promised it. Although, however, it is just to the Batavian government to state that it undoubtedly came to the Cape with vastly improved professions in regard to the natives; and although enough was done by the Dutch to show their sincerity; yet it is clear, they gave way on this subject of land; and it was only after a struggle that the promise to the Stuurmans was performed.† Partial error in opinion, and weakness in troops, induced the local authorities to yield too much to the selfishness of the colonists, in whose hand they were content to place the coloured people as servants, in return for the support expected to be required against invaders; forgetting that masters are never well served, when the due reward is denied to their servants. The letter, addressed by General Janssens, in 1805, to the South African Society, which is printed in the Appendix, indicates that he did not at last consider land as amongst the means of civilising the plundered Hottentots; and his sentiments were probably those of many well-intentioned persons of his time.

* Missionary Transactions, Vol. 1. p. 496. and p. 494.

† Lichtenstein, Vol. 1.

It is certain that, after 1806, the British Government fell into the most destructive course on this head; yielding to a sympathy with the old spirit of oppression, that is now only half crushed by the Commissioners of Inquiry and General Bourke.

Mr. Latrobe is remarkable for the moderation with which he reproves government measures; yet in noticing "the degradation of the Hottentots" in 1816, in a part of the colony where "unoccupied land" was abundant, he does not scruple to say that, "the blame and the shame of this degradation lie heavy with some of the *former* possessors of this land; who, first having robbed the aborigines of their paternal inheritance, took advantage of their tame and defenceless state, to thrust them down into the most abject servitude."*

The same author has preserved an incident, which strongly proves how heavily this oppression weighs upon the industry and the spirit of even those to whom providence has opened such an asylum in their wretchedness as Genadendal.

* The case of the Stuurman family, who at length lost the land settled upon them by the last Dutch Governor, is a grievous illustration of this remark. And it fell out in *our* time, not under "*former* possessors of this land," as Mr. Latrobe a little too moderately expresses it. The British functionary who prosecuted the head of the family to a forfeiture of his grant, is said to have himself obtained it, and to have held the children in "abject servitude," whilst David Stuurman is pining, if alive, in New South Wales. A petition is presented to the present governor, Sir Lowry Cole, by the children, praying that their father may be restored to his home. His Majesty will find this case as much deserving mercy, as those of the Scottish Jacobites.

"In the evening," says Mr. Latrobe, "Captain Koopman and two other Hottentots paid me a formal visit on my departure...

"Captain Koopman said, that he had still something to observe about the land belonging to the Hottentots, in consequence of my having lately asserted—'that the land was given *to the Brethren* for them, and that, if it had not been for the Missions, the Hottentots would have lost it all.'

"He entered into a long demonstration to prove, that not only this land, but two neighbouring farms, which he named, had in old times been Hottentots' land, *being secured to one of his ancestors* by some Dutch governor.....

"He added, that there was not now land enough for pasture; and that if, according to my recommendation, still more were to be brought under tillage for fields and gardens, they must keep fewer cattle; and that, if those spots which appeared fit for corn, were ploughed and sown, they would be surrounded by pasture-ground, and the produce be trodden down by beasts.

"He therefore wished me to apply to the English Government, to restore to the Hottentots the two farms in question. I explained to him that the English government must and would act justly; that they had already greatly favoured the Christian Hottentots; that what I said about the land being given 'to the Brethren,' for the Hottentots, was strictly true; for they had the right granted to them of giving it to, or withholding it from, any Hottentot at their discretion.....

"It was to me a most interesting DISCOVERY that

these poor peeple likewise reason about the rights of man." . . . .—Ib. p. 403.

Here is clear proof of the natural capacity of the native, and of his wish to turn his skill, acquired under approved Christian pastors, to the best natural account in a new country; and at the same time the incident proves, upon practical and unexceptionable testimony, that exertions on his behalf would have been useless. Mr. Latrobe was well aware of the great advantage that might have been derived to his poor people in general, from the encouragement of Koopman's proposals; and the Moravian missionaries had been selected (almost to their injury) as the pattern to those of other denominations, engaged in civilising the heathen. But Mr. Latrobe, if not quite so plain-spoken as could be wished by a politician, did his work as well perhaps as the evil days in which he fell allowed. His visit to Africa was undertaken in order to save the Moravian missions from an apprehended risk of being abolished. He knew the imprudence of seeking redress *then* on any other point, however important. From 1809 to 1816, a very little indiscretion indeed might have swept his with all other missionary stations from the colony. After they should be safe, and breathing time should be gained, other objects could be contended for with greater hope in better times.

In pages 377 of the 1st volume, and 382 of the 2nd volume of Dr. Philip's researches, there is somewhat strong proof that effectual opposition could be made to these very recent owners of the whole soil obtaining an interest in a small portion of it, although upon proof

that they are advancing in civilisation; and with the guarantee of other tried missionaries, that the acquisition would tend to their permanent improvement. The following letter relative to this case has been properly published by Dr. Philip, as "an illustration of the nature of the colonial system;" the evils of which are very far from being yet sufficiently corrected.

Downing Street, London, 12th October, 1823.

My Lord,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatch of the 12th of July last, inclosing a communication from the landrost of Albany, in which it is suggested that a strip of land situated between the missionary establishment at Theopolis, and the late Colonel Frazer's estate, might be given to that institution; and I have to acquaint your Excellency, that if the missionaries should be willing to accept a grant of the land in question, *upon condition of not further extending these possessions* by PURCHASE or *otherwise, without the leave of your Excellency's government,* I shall be prepared to sanction the grant of this land to them.

BATHURST.

It will not be professed that the principles which led to mortmain laws, prompted this dispatch, or that the spirit of any new countries renders mortmain charitable appropriations likely to be dangerous. Its true colonial object was, that the Hottentot might be compelled to labour for others against his own will and interest; and when a Secretary of State could be misled to sign such

a document with impunity, a Governor was safe from reproof for in fact assisting to blight the fair prospects of the King's subjects.

Another example worth recording of the iniquitous system so long in force, may be found in regard to a spot near the mouth of the Swart-Rop's River. It was applied for by the missionary society for Bethelsdorp,* and refused because it was necessary to the public. It is now the private property of the very magistrate under whose administration it was so refused. Mr. Thompson, the traveller, has preserved another interesting case which happened in Clanwilliam, strongly illustrative of this subject; although in the result brought about by the exertions of a warm-hearted Irish gentleman, it forms an exception to the general rule. There can indeed be no doubt that, practically, individual "Hottentots and other free persons of colour" could not at a very late period obtain land. A short list might be published of some who struggled in vain for a few spots; but the system of exclusion was so firmly established, that frequent applications have not been thought of even by men whose title has long been in all respects unexceptionable.

Enough is adduced in support of the second proposition, that the land has been absolutely thrown away so far as the improvement of the natives is concerned, by its being refused to worthy applicants; and we return to the first and most important point; namely, that our unjust seizure of it so excites the hatred of the natives, that the land itself is become an obstacle rather than an incentive

* Reports of the Society.

to their civilisation. As the wrong done on this head continues to the present hour; and as it may be confined in extent only to the limits of uncivilised Africa; it is important to place the truth in regard to it in a clear light. The map shows our progress step by step, in a succession of shades, for a century past, from Cape-Town to the Caffre and Bushman frontiers. The dates of the inroads of settlers are inserted, with the subsequent dates of the adoption of their robbery by Government.

It would be waste of time to produce the testimonies with which books upon South Africa teem, in regard to our cruel seizure of the Bushman country. Scarcely a volume has been written without the most heart-breaking details upon this subject. The late Commissioners and almost all other official inquirers into it, are earnest that the wrong should be stayed; yet is nothing substantially yet done. The class of *Squatters* is proportionately as numerous and as uncontrolled, although not so uncontrollable, at the Cape as in America; and the only effectual proceedings yet suggested for turning their wanderings to a good account, seem disregarded by the Government.

The following statements refer to two parts of the Bushman frontier, and are sufficient to shew the existing effects of recent English oppression; and also how at this moment similar oppression is perpetrating, shortly to be succeeded by inevitable similar effects. In one spot the work of robbery and frequent murder is done; and we, on our part, are enjoying the spoil, whilst to the poor Bushman is left the misery necessarily consequent upon the loss of his home and kindred. In the other

spot a little scruple has been raised lately, as to allowing the continuance of murders, although almost none at uncompensated intrusion.

The very country, in which 60 years ago Sparrman stigmatised the barbarities inflicted on the natives by Dutch intruders, has recently seen the seisure confirmed and extended by us, without an effort to compensate or improve. The following statement, taken from the printed journal of the moderate missionaries, the Wesleyans, whose success is very remarkable, shows the dreadful consequence to be similar, as it may well be, to what has been effected through the same means against the same people along the Bushman frontier for half a century. It cannot be thought surprising that the unhappy tribes who are lawlessly stripped of fruitful plains, and who lose half their numbers in the bloody struggle for their homes, should at last retire to barren rocks, with the feelings described in this paper. "A cursory glance at the Bushman's deplorable condition, would induce one," says the resident missionary, "to ask, Does this wretched creature belong to the human family? This, indeed, must be granted. But where shall we look for him? amidst human society and amongst the habitations of men? Alas! we must visit the haunts of wild beasts, the deep and distant glen, the almost impenetrable forest, or the terrific and apparently inaccessible precipice: there he is to be found. His bow is bent, his darts are poisoned; and his looks betraying both fear and hostility, he stands fully prepared to take a fatal aim at all who may approach his rampart. Hence it is almost impossible to effect the least intercourse with him. He might seem to claim

kindred only with baboons and beasts of prey; for the retreats of these creatures are frequently converted into places of habitation for him and for his family. He never sallies forth without arrows in his quiver and poison in his bag; and the latter is of the most deadly kind. He is very diminutive in person, clad only with filth, well instructed in every species of barbarity, to which he trains his offspring from their very infancy; and he maintains their miserable existence by plunder and murder. His perpetual depredations render him the object of hatred and dread, and induce many to pursue him with the instruments of death. Such is the almost incredible and truly awful state of this class of our neighbours at the present moment!"—Missionary Chronicle for 1828.

Volumes have been written which trace this miserable state to obvious causes, in the injustice and neglect for which no excuse remains. The colonial commissioner, Colonel Collins, twenty years ago drew the same picture equally from the truth, at the Cape; marked the causes of the evil accurately, and vainly suggested one plain cure. The English Commissioners of Inquiry have marked with reproof the invasion now going on; which without a deep and honest reform must extend the scene of suffering, and its consequent frenzy in the minds of still more numerous sufferers. Happily the press may render such unjust acquisitions known, and make their infamy felt by those, who have not vigour of integrity to stop the oppressions which they must confess exist. In a Cape paper of the 19th October, 1825, may be found the following paragraph illustrative of these principles, in a letter written from

the spot where we were seizing lands without attempting to make any compensation to its owners:

Letter, dated Baviaans River, Sept. 22.

"The fine country between the Baviaans River and the new Caffre frontier, is now in the act of being divided amongst the frontier boors. We have been exceedingly plagued by Bushmen of late. They have taken possession of the ceded territory, and associated themselves with vagrant Caffres, and a number of runaway convicts from the colony; and carried off or killed cattle and horses, and sometimes murdered the herdsmen..... Within a few weeks, however, they were surrounded by a commando of the Cape corps and burghers, and the principal ringleaders shot. The rest escaped ..... I cannot help thinking some mode might be devised for reclaiming or conciliating even the worst of these poor wretches by lenient measures, for their good, and for the unfortunate colonists now exposed to their cupidity or vengeance."

We have here the system and its consequences expressed in a few words, with a fair hint of the remedy; yet are we as far from resorting to it as ever. The next document is recent, and exhibits the existing state of things in lively terms:

Graaf Reinet, 1829.

"I conceive that justice demands, that every assistance should be rendered to the farmers, to prevent depredations on their cattle. But I must observe that the severest punishment would not in all probability promote the reform of the Bushmen, but only harden them in their crimes; and the letter of the law not being strictly adhered to along the boundary—yea even

many of the government ordinances barely and sometimes incorrectly understood—adding to this the abuse of power,—might be the causes of many innocent persons becoming the prey of these Nimrods.

"If the Veld cornets were allowed to apprehend the Bushmen at the station, they would fly from their pursuers, and seek a refuge in the more interior parts of the country. They might consider the missionaries as their deceivers, and become implacable towards them; and the final consequences are too shocking to think upon. The one would accuse the other, (for these aborigines are true Cretans,) and all the Bushmen be seized on suspicion.

"Yet divine law and every judiciary code demand that theft should be punished; but justice also requires us to listen to the sad tale of the most miserable of her sons.

"Let us arraign the complainant and defendant at the bar of truth; and let justice pronounce the sentence.

"The defendant, the Bushman, is accused of having stolen the complainant's cattle.

"The defendant pleads hunger as the cause of his misdemeanor, and accuses complainant, the boor, of having stolen his cattle; i. e. the game.

"Complainant considers the game as the lawful right of all men;—denies that the country ever abounded with game; and says that defendant had frequently requested him (complainant) to shoot game for him (defendant), which he did, and gave defendant the greatest part of what he shot.

"Defendant considers game as the gift of providence

to him in the country where he resides; he cannot say why the Governor of the world caused his fathers to seek their support from wild beasts; and asserts that the country did abound with game. 200 Elands but a few years since were found in a troop, where now the Bushman mission is. (This information I received from a young farmer.) But complainant came with 50 men and 20 waggons into defendant's country; shot 100 Elands; also 4 or 5 sea-cows; and gave defendant such meat and bones as complainant could not carry away. The skins, &c. procured by this hunting party, (*a commission, as the boors call it,*) could have been sold for more than 1000 rix-dollars.

"Defendant seeing himself deprived of all his food, requested complainant to shoot something for him; the farmer's guns having so terrified the game, that he could not approach near enough to kill the said wild animals.

"Can justice demand any thing but mutual forgiveness and assistance?

"Can she allow the complainant any right of recompense for defendant's past offences?

"What has been now stated, is exactly the argument used by the farmers and the Bushmen in their defence.

"Farmers have informed me that the Bushmen can outrun large Elands, and make them their easy prey.*

* Yet Lichtenstein could venture to say that, if the Bushman were driven from his land, *they had nothing to lose.* 2 vol. p. 51. 4to. Ed. He had cause to estimate the value of game at a different rate, when mentioning the intrusion of the *Caffre* hunters upon the boors; vol. I.

"It is now necessary to answer the following objection.

"It is an indisputable necessity which compels the farmers to enter the Bushman territory. Their loss of cattle would be extensive, if they were not allowed to save their flocks with the pasturage beyond the boundary.

"Answer. If a farmer in Britain possessed a farm sufficiently provided with pasturage for 100 sheep, and should stock it with 3000; and when the grass was destroyed, should oppress a poor neighbour, what must we conclude from such conduct? The former act must be considered by all candid judges as the greatest imprudence; and the latter, as the most glaring injustice.

"Such is the case with the boundary farmers. One has a farm capable of grazing 70 sheep, according to the taxation of the civil commissioners, and he possesses nearly 3000.

"Another's place is taxed at 200, and he has 2500.

"It is not therefore indisputable necessity, but imprudence, or rather avarice, that causes the farmer to oppress the Bushman.

"The rights of mankind demand that the Bushman country should remain the property of its original inhabitants.

"It has been proposed that the Bushmen who steal cattle, should be apprehended beyond the boundary, and banished.

"The farmers acknowledge that it would be almost impossible to apprehend such thieves without shooting them; they would not, (or it would be said they would

not) give themselves prisoners, and the consequences are easily perceived.

" We are all aware what the farmers have done without law—what will they not do, when laws sanction their conduct?

" Let the farmers remain in the colony, and then be allowed to follow after and seize the stealers of their cattle. If Government make laws to defend the boors, and forget the Bushmen, we must submit; but I think," &c. &c.

This paper relates to the country to the north-east of the present boundary of the Cape colony, where the farmers are now penetrating upon the same unjust principles, the countenance of which has exposed the Governments, Dutch and English, to equally merited reproach.

The present Cape authorities describe the position of things now in that quarter in the following terms: " These farmers expatriated themselves without the permission and in defiance of the law, forced by want of water and pasturage for their flocks; and seek the means of sustenance wherever they can be found. Such was the pressure of their necessities, that no law, no force, could either prevent their emigration, or compel their return, until the return of a more favourable season. These emigrants have been made fully aware of the dangerous consequences of provoking the native tribes among whom they have settled themselves for a time, and by whom they were kindly received; and they have been apprized that by their own act they are placed equally beyond the control and protection of the Government. But whatever influence Government can

be supposed to retain over men circumstanced as they are, has been and will continue to be exacted, to keep them from injuring or molesting the native tribes, and finally to bring them back within the limits of the Colony."—Official Letter from the Secretary to Government at the Cape of Good Hope, dated 13th April 1829.

The simplicity with which the writer of this letter anticipates bringing these enterprising expatriated colonists back, is matchless. They have found a new country which defies a dry season, and he thinks they will one day return to one where every fountain is being blocked up by their relatives, swarming thither from the heart of the colony in their rear, where every third year at least, on the average, will produce as parching a season as that from which they have escaped " in defiance of law." Lieut.-Col. Bell says, too, that they are gone to a tribe who received them most kindly. Probably, then, it is not desirable that they should return; probably they carry with them what, *by proper management, would compensate their approach.* If not, surely a more statesman-like resolution could be formed, than that of putting off a vindication of the law to *a future day.* Such postponement of right looks sadly like the proceeding in 1702, and the other examples of weakness hereafter noticed as characteristic of the Cape Goverment, and which will now, as they were, be followed by as evil consequences as transactions of this kind, pregnant with seeds of evil, can generate. We might regulate the advance of these boors to the advantage of Africa, and if we do not, with all our professions we shall end, without a change, in buying dearly for them a country which, we now say, they shall only hold " for a time."

The foregoing cases present one circumstance which gives rise to a very painful reflection, upon comparing with it the state of similar things in the colony. The Government here excuses the boors for their encroachment, because the season is dry, and the people he goes to are not unwilling to receive them. The drought within the colony has been truly termed *awful*, and its effects have been such at Bethelsdorp, that cattle have perished by starvation, whilst Government lands could have been given to them in their need; and the newspapers are filled with calls upon the legislature to make new, vindictive laws against these poor *trespassers* upon their forefathers' unoccupied domains. How far the Cape Government has been active in remedying these evils of late, will appear by the fate of certain other memorials inserted in the Appendix.

It is, however, right to take notice of a recent order issued by his Excellency Sir Lowry Cole on this subject:

"Whereas many memorials have been presented praying for grants of land, situated beyond the known boundaries of the colony, and even beyond the Great Orange river, it is hereby notified that no attention whatever will be paid to any such memorials.—Cape of Good Hope, 20th June 1829. By command of his Excellency the Governor. JOHN BELL, Secretary to Government."

The following interesting memorial from some civilised Griquas, has brought this subject under the recent consideration of a new administration.

TRANSLATION.

" *To His Excellency Sir Lowry Cole, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.*

" The Memorial of the Chief ADAM KOK, and his Councillors, in the name of the Griquas residing at the Missionary Station, Philippolis and adjacent country, situated on the north side of the Colonial boundary, the Cradock River:

" Humbly Sheweth,

" That the inhabitants of this country are chiefly descended from the native tribe of Hottentots, who anciently possessed the country in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, but who, for certain causes, were under the necessity of emigrating half a century ago to the Orange River, and have been connected with the Missions of the London Missionary Society beyond the boundary for 28 years, being governed by their own native chiefs, and subject to their own peculiar laws and customs:

" That they have been assured by the Colonial Government, in the proclamation dated 27th January, 1825, that ' Government has no design to interfere with them in any way contrary to their own inclinations, and that it has no interest whatever in its conduct towards them, but that of securing their own peace and happiness.'

" That your Excellency's Memorialists take the liberty humbly to submit to your Excellency's notice, that a great many colonial farmers have come over the boundaries into this country with their numerous herds and

flocks; that passing over the farms of the Griquas, (several of which are cultivated,) and occupying other places which they preserved for their own cattle, manifest injury has been done to the inhabitants of the country, and several disputes have in consequence taken place between the colonists and Griquas.

"The Griquas sincerely desire to bury in oblivion the recollection of oppressions suffered by themselves and forefathers in days that are past; but the insulting behaviour of some of the colonists who have come over the boundaries, is calculated to foster and perpetuate feelings very inimical to that peace and harmony which it is desirable to preserve between their white neighbours and themselves.

"Memorialists very much regret the necessity they are under of addressing your Excellency upon this subject; but they have been induced to do it from a conviction that very great evils will be the result of repeated provocations on the part of the farmers, if not prevented by your Excellency's gracious interference.

"Memorialists are not insensible to the distresses of some of the farmers; and they know it to be their duty to render their neighbours every assistance in their power; but they cannot help observing, (however reluctant they may be to express their feelings,) that painful experience has also taught them the duty of guarding against any infringement of their natural rights.

"If, therefore, your Excellency should be pleased to continue to permit the farmers to come over the boundary into these parts, it is humbly submitted that they be obliged to take such a route, and be restricted to the use of such parts of the country, as may be pointed

out by the Griquas; and in other respects be subject to reasonable regulations, necessary for the peace and security of the natives.

"Memorialists further take the liberty to state for your Excellency's information, that the country bordering to the N. and N. E. of the Griquas is inhabited by a native tribe called Bashootoos, in a very impoverished and destitute state; their chief means of subsistence being the wild animals, which abound in their country.

"That the colonists who have penetrated 70 miles beyond the boundaries, are in the habit of hunting in those parts; and the game is in consequence likely to be destroyed, or driven away, (which some of the natives actually complain of;) that the poor natives must eventually be reduced to the greatest misery and want, and will in all probability resort to plundering as their only resource; which will expose the Griquas, their nearest neighbours, to the greatest danger.

"Memorialists being taught to consider the British government as the defender of the oppressed, take the liberty of submitting to your Excellency's consideration the difficulties which arise from the farmers coming over the colonial boundary; and humbly solicit your protection and interference in their present circumstances.

"And memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.*

(Signed) ADAM KOK, Chief,
and 9 Councillors.

Philippolis, January, 23, 1829.

* It may be alledged that such documents are *got up* by the friends of the native people; unquestionably those friends assist them, but the writer of these notes has had some experience of

On the eastern frontier, the like series of unjust aggressions upon the Hottentots gave us the whole country west of the Fish River, and led to the miseries to be described in the narrative of civil transactions of 1802 and 1812. The space between the colony and the Kieskamma, marked blue on the map, demands a special consideration.

The war of 1819 was followed by a treaty with Gaika our ally, and with *some* of the vanquished chiefs; by which it was agreed that the country between the Great Fish River and the Kieskamma should be unoccupied by either colonists or the Caffres. This treaty, made in October 1819, was announced by us in the following terms as far as relates to the country in question: "His Excellency explained to Gaika that it appeared impracticable to secure the repose of the colony, so long as Caffres could have access to the forests near the Fish River; and that it was necessary the Fish River should no longer be the limit. It was therefore *finally* * arranged that the Chumie should be

the feelings of the Hottentots, and can safely testify that those instruments are genuine in every sense. A few points of form excepted, there are Hottentots perfectly capable of preparing them; and in January last the writer was requested by one at Bethelsdorp, to supply him with a proper form of address to the governor. He also possesses a ms. memoir written by a Griqua chief, in defence of his political life. It will not be considered an unimportant incident in the civilisation of the Griquas, and their capacity for doing business, that the bonds of several of them for debts have once been offered for sale in the Cape papers.

* The previous conversation would doubtless explain some points in this unsatisfactory account of the purpose of the cession. Gaika possesses great powers of speaking, which he is

the division henceforward; that is, the Kieskamma from the sea to its confluence with the Chumie; and the ridge of the Kat River hills, where they touch the Chumie, to where they join the chain of the Winterbergen. So that the waters that fall from that ridge into the Chumie shall belong to Gaika; and those which fall into the Kat River shall appertain to the colony.

"The females of Conga's kraals were to have time to bring the Caffre corn from his kraals, and from those of Lynx, Habana, and Garetta. Gaika's people were to leave the Kachaberg on the next full moon, the 2nd of November. Afterwards the troops would destroy every vestige of the kraals between the old line of the Fish River and the new line, to prevent the future occupation of the ceded territory by any petty chieftain.

"Two strong military posts are to be established betwixt the spot where the Chumie joins the Kieskamma and the Gwanga, for finally compelling such Caffres as might attempt to repass the Fish River forests to confine themselves to the limits agreed upon."

The terms of this treaty, as announced in our gazette, are not clear; and the Caffres unluckily do not print much yet; there is no doubt, however, of the intentions of the parties. It is well known that this country was meant to be, in the words of the well-in-

said to have employed skilfully on this occasion. It is reported that he saved the beautiful country from Chumie to the heads of the Kieskamma, by an affecting appeal to the white men, to spare him the place of his birth.

formed writer of the state of the Cape in 1822, "a *neutral* ground established by consent of the Caffres;" not a cession to us in absolute property.

In 1820, an arrangement was made with Gaika by Sir Rufane Donkin, the acting governor, who has printed an account of it in the following terms:

"I had an interview with the Caffre chief Gaika, relative to the occupation of a neutral district between the Keiskamma and the Fish Rivers. The result of our conference was, his saying that he had no objection to, but rather wished its occupation, provided I did not place colonists there in detached families, like the boors in the Zureveld; for that his Caffres would infallibly plunder such defenceless people, and that he had no power to restrain them."—Sir. R. Donkin's pamphlet, pag. 56.

Other accounts of this treaty exist, as those in the Oriental Herald, and in Mr. Rose's more recent four years in South Africa; but none justify the recent assumption of the land being *ceded* to us in absolute property.

Mr. Rose of the Engineers has published the last book on South Africa, and speaks thus of this country: "The rich tract which Gaika so unwillingly ceded to his allies, and from which the Caffres had been expelled, we have now permitted them to return to; and they are again living where their fathers lived, and cultivating the ground which they cultivated. This country, called the neutral ground, we were now crossing."—Four years in South Africa by Cowper Rose, p. 81. 1829.

In October 1820, Sir Rufane Donkin by a proclamation included this country within the colony, annexing

it to Albany, by the description of "the newly-*acquired* territory;" and in 1821 it was partially settled according to the foregoing terms.* The Commissioners of Inquiry have stated that "the occupation of this land was regarded by Lord Charles Somerset as a departure from the policy that had induced him to interpose a neutral space between the colonists and Caffres."† Lord Charles Somerset accordingly withdrew Sir Rufane Donkin's settlement, and, by proclamations, in 1823 re-established the Fish River as the boundary against the colonists. Soon afterwards, however, *without any treaty*, as is believed, his Lordship settled part of the neutral ground himself, and in a mode contrary to Gaika's stipulations.‡ About that time a new policy was begun to be introduced towards the Caffres, much to the injury of Gaika in other respects: a treacherous attempt, disclaimed by Lord C. Somerset, had even been made in 1822 to take him, our ally of twenty years, a prisoner. His superiority, so long and so vainly struggled for by us, against the laws of Caffreland and against his wishes, was more than given up, and without those explanations to him which we were bound to have made; whilst his rivals, whom we had insulted with every species of contumely, and attempted at any cost to crush, were admitted to favor. Many of them obtained the occupation of lands in this very neutral terri-

* But query if some misunderstanding did not exist from the first.

† Report of Dec. 24, 1825.

‡ See letters in the Oriental Herald 1826. p. 605. and 1827. p. 13.

tory, with the hope of having it restored, as some of them have thought, upon a condition which they have undoubtedly performed. It is asserted that conferences have taken place between colonial officers of rank and some of these tribes, which justify this expectation. Their actual and exclusive enjoyment of considerable tracts west of the Kieskamma, has continued to the present year 1829; although, in 1827, orders were given that the Caffres should again retire over that river. The execution of these orders is understood to have been delayed (and most wisely) upon the same principle of consideration for their probable sufferings, which dictated the disobedience of far more equitable commands, said to have proceeded from the Secretary of State, that the boors should be recalled from the same violated neutral ground on the Koonap. If the latter command was really issued, it is an additional proof that the occupation, now talked of, of the neutral ground to the exclusion of Caffres, is an act as little to have been expected as it is unjustifiable.

Such a proceeding will be exceedingly to be regretted. The spot in question, classical as it has become,* is a most worthless consideration for our good fame; and whilst it is interesting in South African history, as the scene of Sir James Craig's stern integrity, of which the memorial is preserved by Barrow, there was till lately an appearance of the reproach of foreign writers against us in regard to it being undeserved. Malte-Brun makes many mistakes in his account; but it has remained for the British Government to justify by re-

* See Barrow's South Africa, and Pringle's Poems.

cent acts, what otherwise might have been proved to be an outrageous calumny against us. * If the present threatened assumption of this country is really to be confirmed, it was in vain that Barrow gave African immortality to Sir James Craig for frustrating the cupidity of the boors in 1796, which thirty years of British government has only permitted to be more successfully violent in 1829, when shared by Englishmen. Barrow's story is short:

Barrow, 1797.—"In a conversation with these chiefs (Tooley Malloo and Etonie), they were asked whether they were not acquainted with the treaty made a long time ago between the Christians and Caffres, and renewed at the conclusion of the late hostilities, fixing the Great Fish River as the boundary.

"Malloo replied, they knew it well. If so, it was demanded why they broke the treaty, and passed the river, to the injury of the inhabitants, who were obliged to leave their habitations.

"Malloo replied, there were no habitations where they had fixed themselves; and as to their motives for pas-

* In his elaborate system of geography, Malte-Brun states that the country of the Koussas is traversed by Keiskamma and the Buffalo: the *latter alone*, says he, *furnishes good water*. The Keiskamma is now their western boundary. The territory between that and the Fish River is a parallelogram of 2000 square miles of the finest land in Caffraria, fertile, well-watered, abounding in luxurious pasture. It has been lately ceded by Gaika for a neutral ground. But the real object to which it has been applied, is the accommodation of the emigrants who sailed from England in 1820. It forms a new district under the name of Albany.

sing the boundary, he could only say they came over for the same reason which had carried the colonists over, *just* after the treaty, into the Caffre country, to hunt game.

"This was correct. The Dutch peasantry, after 1793, not only went over to hunt, but they have always used, and still continue to consider, the Caffre side of the river as their own, have sown and planted, and driven over their cattle to graze.

"Some of the inhabitants of Bruinjetes Hooghte had even gone amongst the Ghonaquas, a tribe of people produced between Caffres and Hottentots, but living under the former; had taken possession of the choicest part of their country, well watered by two plentiful streams, the Kat and the Kaapna; had laid out the extent of ground each meant to occupy, planted vines and other fruits; and, certain that the avaricious and unjust views of the Government would keep equal pace with their own, joined by twenty or thirty names they contrived to muster from different parts of the colony, they had the audacity to petition Sir James Craig to grant them, as an indemnification for their losses by the Bosjesmans and Caffres, *a small* piece of ground on the Kaapna; and that it would still further oblige them, if he would extend it to the Kat River.

"This small piece of ground is only about 45 miles beyond the present boundary.

"The daring and impudent falsehoods on which the letter was grounded, were easily seen through by Sir J. Craig, and their petition very properly rejected."—1st. ed. Barrow, p. 172—3.

In 1827, an attempt, unworthy of General Bourke, was made to induce a body of Tambookies to settle on

part of this spot, with the apparent object of interposing them between the Caffres and our settlers, who had obtained other portions of it. These Tambookies are said to have declined the offer; but some of their countrymen seem to have been let into the territory, so as to excite jealousies; which, with the unjust expulsion of the Caffres, will lay the foundation for the most distressing scenes.

It was not in this spirit that Sir George Yonge penned the following letter on the subject of extending the Cape frontiers:

"It appears to me," says Sir George Yonge, the governor of the Cape in 1800, "that there may be some advantage in having part of the Caffres on this side of the Fish River, who may be friendly, whilst those beyond may be hostile. It is a point of some difficulty to decide which party should be supported, in case the two tribes are at enmity. We can only conclude beyond all question, that the old causes of dispute, and any new offence on our side towards either party, must be avoided. The Fish River, as a convenient natural boundary, is preferable to any other less defined; but it is by no means a limit never to be extended. Circumstances must govern us in regard to going further; and many years may elapse before prudence will permit us even to think of doing so. In the mean time, I only hold the Fish River to be a desirable boundary, in case we can reach it without war, or dissatisfaction; that is to say, in case, through the medium of good offices, or by presents, and with the consent of every party, that point can be secured.—George Yonge."

Raise effective methods of civilising the native people

upon these principles, and the government of the Cape would present altogether a new character, and one which its position is well calculated to sustain with advantage.

Although, to use the words of the late Commissioners of Inquiry, "the occupation of the land between the Fish River and the Kieskamma may be desirably promoted;" yet if, in the face of all that is just and honorable, we now seize upon the very same spot *without new engagements* with the Caffres, an indelible disgrace will be stamped upon us. It is, theoretically at least, new in our colonial history to make acquisitions, as we are doing in South Africa and New Holland, without an attempt to compensate the natives. The Committee of the House of Commons, who after the American war recommended a colony of convicts to be formed about Cape Voltas on the western coast of Africa, especially notice the probability of obtaining the land wanted, if "a rent" were paid, as all the Portuguese and Dutch possessions there were so acquired;* and it would be convenient and not very difficult, to direct such payment towards the means of permanently improving the people.

Whilst a regard to the national character should urge us to do justice to the rightful joint-claimants of this little spot, sound colonial policy will be seen to require even concessions there. Before seizing the whole country, the numerous Caffres now enjoying access to it, must be compelled to retire. They will do so with the greatest reluctance; and all experience suggests that they will revenge the wrong which they

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 40. p. 954.

at least believe we are doing them. The present extreme drought beyond the Keiskamma, where the herds are daily thinned for want of grass, renders the country incapable of receiving more cattle without great suffering and loss. Considerable as the influence of the missionaries and traders, and of the new system generally, may be towards preserving peace, it will be imprudent not to expect the natural effects from men goaded by sufferings, which they will attribute directly to us; and which they will be strongly induced to revenge on the new possessors of the land from which we are about to expel them for ever.

A series therefore of plunderings and expensive commandos may reasonably be looked for, if we persevere in this unfortunate enterprise of occupying the neutral ground without due arrangements for the benefit of all the parties interested in it.

But the evil to be expected in this way, falls into insignificance, compared with the good it will prevent to the Caffres and to ourselves.

The men whom we threaten to dispossess, are a remarkable race; and upon the very eve of becoming the first national fruits of the civilisation which may be given to Africa by means of English exertion and integrity.*

* Mr. Southey, (Prospects of Society,) considers Africa will become civilised, *when* a Christian state is formed of Africans. Why, then, do not Mr. Southey, and other writers, who command so powerful a persuasive as the Quarterly Review, urge unceasingly on the British public the duty of taking steps in South Africa, which will tend to establish numerous Christian states upon our borders; such as the Griquas are, and the Caffres may soon become.

A settlement might easily be made of the *neutral* territory, without the whole being restored. In this manner it may even conduce more to the ultimate advantage of the Caffre tribes, and of Africa, that a joint occupation of it should be determined upon, than any attempt to return to the impracticable system of separation. As intermixture must take place, it is desirable that the opportunity should not be lost, of beginning it with men advanced as they are many degrees from the savage state. The chiefs of the tribes, who would take the share which ought, upon all considerations, to be given to Caffres, are politic, and more than half civilised men. It is impossible to know several of them, without acknowledging that language could not be more abused than by calling them savages. Great numbers of their people are probably equally advanced; nor are they by any means solely Caffres by nation.

The Gona and other Hottentots, accustomed to the semi-civilisation of the colony, constitute a powerful portion of them; and whilst these latter are an argument for the union so desirable for all, the remembrance of their peculiar and unmerited sufferings ought to make the government eager to seize any just means for making them some compensation.

If the opportunity be lost, which the neutral ground affords for providing an improving home to some of these borderers, the evil consequences to them are difficult to be estimated.

They must retire, not to a home, but to masters; and be dispersed amongst more numerous and jealous hordes, who will only receive them as a broken people, into a qualified servitude. One considerable tribe is

understood to have given, during several years, proof of their capacity for union with us, by already submitting to restraints upon, what have been foolishly called, their *inveterate* habits of plundering. I make the statement under correction; but if it be true that Conga's people have been in possession of tracts of the neutral ground for several years "upon good behaviour;" and if, as I believe, they have performed their part of the engagement most sacredly; and if hopes of having the land restored have ever been held out to them upon those terms, it would be something very much worse than madness on our side to deprive them of their purchase.

We seem also to have forgotten that the recent measure * of inviting free laborers from the frontiers, is intimately connected with such transactions as these. Distrust and a disposition to revenge will increase tenfold the difficulties of executing that important measure well. Disputes, and a necessity for punishments, will occur under any circumstances, where so many people mix, and where new situations are continually arising; and by alienating any of these border tribes, we exceedingly lessen both the strength and the effect of our police. Fewer laborers will be disposed to come among us; and those who do come will give increased trouble. There is another consideration apparently of the first importance: hitherto our progress has been calculated principally to inspire an apprehension that we seek to get possession of the whole country. Abstinence in regard to the spot in question, would do much to quiet these fears. The news of it would soon spread among

* See Appendix, No. 8

half a million of people; and heightening respect into attachment, it would pave the way to an intercourse in all respects most advantageous.

It is difficult to restrain the feelings on this subject. A just consideration of past sufferings,—of present rights,—and of reasonable hopes for the future, seems to require that not to be done, which is said to be resolved upon by the government, and to be eagerly sought by the frontier colonists; both equally misled by views, which will be discountenanced in but a very few years indeed by nineteen or twenty of all classes, as they now are by all who have derived the most moderate instruction from the spirit of the times.

In regard to the general subject of regulating the *inevitable* spreading of our settlements so as to do justice to the aborigines, much might be said upon it with profit. But it is not proposed to suggest its rules in this place. How many acres should be reserved for them in the voluntary bargains which they will gladly make: and how land can best be appropriated, so as to promote the separate settlement of individuals, and leave them safe when in collision with white people, and hereafter with civilised colored people, are important points. If, however, it be honestly determined to secure to the natives that share in the soil which, in new countries especially, is the natural reward of the industrious, and inseparable from the African natives' strong sentiments in favor of freedom; local experience will furnish the best guide towards carrying this just decision into effect. The crown may, however, do much forthwith to stop the enormous mischief now in virulent activity upon this head. Respectable persons think the extension of the

Cape Colony to be an evil in itself; and that the lands within the boundaries should be settled more thickly. Lichtenstein laments "the unfortunate idea," adopted in the last Dutch time, of carrying "new settlements into the Caffre country and to the Orange River;"* and he has a strange remedy for the evil;—viz. 60 acre freehold grants at all the fountains nearer home, as the government fell in, with the dry land adjoining, to be held by the grantees in common. Thompson discusses the same subject at large; and the Commissioners of Inquiry seem to have adopted the opinion of narrower limits being desirable.

If cooping up the white people were an object fit to be sought, it would be necessary to consider whether it can in fact be attained† by any force short of a cordon of riflemen empowered to shoot white Bushmen at discretion; and it might be proved that to leave the natives any where long to themselves is not possible; as on the other hand powerful arguments are not wanting to show, that to do so, were it possible, would not be wise.

Experience has proved the impracticability of shutting up the interior; and none acquainted with the subject will deny that the natives *may* be much benefitted by our settling amongst them; and that they will receive us with the highest satisfaction, if we come under proper regulations. Equivalents may be made for what we gain; and if the government can be prevailed upon to

* Vol. 2. p. 94.

† A commissioner in the time of Lord Caledon only proposed to make such interloping *treason*.

take the pains of ascertaining those equivalents, and of calling up the proper powers to prevent their violation, a far greater mass of good will be derived from an extension of our dependencies so regulated, than from the most successful system of restraining them.

Where we gain possession, the value of the land should at least be set apart for establishments to enable the native people to enjoy beneficially what is left. It is new to pay nothing for whole regions of "newly acquired lands." A purchase was probably made to some extent by Van Riebeck at the Cape; and unquestionably, at Natal, a price was fixed in 1690 for the parts adjacent to this post. When we held the United States of America, Indian titles were founded in some degree upon contract; and the law, with indeed no small latitude of credulity, presumed equivalents to be given to the natives, whose interests were attempted to be secured by established forms. In the Appendix No. 9. will be found a hint of that system in a legal instrument; with some details of the present practice in North America upon it. At the Cape however, and in New Holland, we seem to depend upon our strength alone; and to have lost sight of even the semblance of justice in this respect.

The consequence has been, and without a change will continue to be, little less injurious to the white community at large than to the natives. The words of Baron Hogendorp ought to sink deep in the minds of those who could lead all parties to better things:— "Our colonists," says this enlightened Hollander, "have penetrated to the Orange and Fish Rivers;—so far has the Dutch plough-share furrowed the soil, whose

spontaneous herbage the African and his cattle once enjoyed in freedom. Happy country, if a wise government had directed the progress of civilised Europeans amongst unprotected, friendly savages—if the blessings of our civil institutions and of our religion had been spread over these countries, and not unchecked power alone—and if the savage had been taught to become like us, in the place of our adopting the character of the savage.

"We turn away from the eastern districts, deeply affected by their lot—so bountifully gifted by nature—once the quiet pastures of a simple people, found by Europeans in their primitive condition, with all the virtues, although not without the vices of savage life.—Boasting of our arts, and arms, and civilization, we came amongst them unfettered by any restraints, and forthwith acknowledged no law but force. The finest countries are consequently reddened with our own blood, and with that of the unhappy natives whom we have invaded.

"Such are the fruits of a system of which the administration of law and justice forms no part." *

Those questions were indeed much considered at the last Batavian occupation of the Cape; and Baron van Hogendorp concludes his remarks, which seem to have been urged successfully on the Dutch Government, with the following admirable passage:—"The happy prospect of prosperity to be enjoyed by the Cape, which fills my heart with pleasure, and has animated me in my task,

* Political view of the northern and eastern districts of the Cape of Good Hope, by Baron G. K. van Hogendorp.

is a subject of disquiet to many persons, by their fears of such a colony obtaining early independence. They apprehend that the very strength which we shall create by the policy I recommend, will be turned against ourselves. Upon such a principle however, every father might fear to lose his son upon reaching maturity, or at marriage; and from that apprehension neglect his nurture, as unquestionably weakness of body and mind would prevent his departure from home. The fallacy is plain. God has created this beautiful earth to be inhabited by the noblest of his creatures; and his first command was—'multiply.'—In obedience to this precept the most ancient races sent forth colonies: from them we are sprung, and our colonies will by the same process become nations like ourselves. We may prevent this for a time, by keeping bread from their mouths; but nature triumphs over opposition at last, and the will of God prevails.

"The policy that makes a colony prosper, does, I acknowledge, hasten its independence. But the colony directly contributes to the wealth of the mother country, even whilst growing up; and when independent, does not fail in new modes to do so still. . . . . But when shall the time arrive for the separation of South Africa from us! Calculate its population and extent a century hence by the most favorable principles, and judge if then it will be in a condition to stand alone. The day is, in truth, remote for that event.

"As, then, the older districts succeed, we should not hesitate to form new ones; for which fine situations may be found beyond the Orange and the Fish Rivers. But, in that case, I trust we shall colonise upon improved

principles in all respects, and not disguise robbery and oppression under the name of a territorial system. We must, on the contrary, instruct the natives; convert them from herdsmen to agriculturists; buy from them the lands, which, by having become agriculturists, they will well and readily spare. All this will enable us to settle amongst them as sincere friends, and useful neighbours.

* * * * *

"By multiplying colonies in this way, and keeping their future independence frankly and steadily in view, a state may in all points promote its own welfare, which is thus founded upon the prosperity of mankind at large."*

The Neutral Ground.

Since the foregoing pages were written, intelligence has been received from Cape Town, of the proceedings of Sir Lowry Cole relative to part of the neutral ground. The substance is as follows, and will be found to illustrate several points which are urged in this volume.

"*Neutral Ground.*—Makomo, the son of Gaika, the Caffre chief, has been expelled from the tract of country bordering on the eastern frontier of the Colony, commonly called the neutral territory, which he had been permitted to occupy temporarily by the commandant. It is supposed that Government intends to dispose of locations on this territory to deserving Hottentots, amongst others, who possess cattle, or other capital sufficient to bring the land under cultivation."—*Cape Commercial Advertiser*, 10th June, 1829.

* Hogendorp, p. 121.

The subject of the neutral ground, and the expulsion of Macomo from it in May, 1829, as stated in this paragraph, are connected with several points of the highest interest.

1st. A provision of land for certain Hottentots under the beginning of justice towards that people, has been connected with these matters. 2dly. They concern the peace of the frontier; and consequently the expenditure of public money, and the prosperity of the colonists. 3dly. The success of the new law (the Cape 49th Ordinance,) in favor of admitting natives generally into the colony as free laborers, and otherwise, is directly involved in them both. And 4thly. The civilisation of the Caffres and our national character much depend upon what we shall ultimately do relative to the neutral ground, and in such cases as Macomo's.

Before examining these points minutely, it will be convenient to notice the only accounts which seem to have been published concerning this expulsion of the Caffres. No official statement appears to have been made in the Gazette: and there is some mystery upon the alleged destruction of a missionary station, without any motive, during the execution of the measure.

The Cape Advertiser of the 9th of September, 1829, contains the following letter:—

"The affairs of Caffreland teem with interest.... Independently of those unfortunate arrangements which have disturbed the peace of the frontier, and led to distrust, probable bloodshed, and the proclamation of the 25th ult., it does not appear to be generally known that the new rising village of

Balfour has fallen without a moment's warning, before the commando which extirpated the Caffres from the beautiful country on the Kat River. "EDINBURGENSIS."

Note from a traveller's journal, who visited Balfour shortly before its destruction, enclosed in the foregoing letter:—

"Balfour is so called, in remembrance of the late celebrated clergyman of Glasgow of that name. The station is in the midst of a numerous population, at the foot of a range of hills at no great distance from the Kat, the Umtwarva, and on the banks of the beautifully flowing 'Quonei rivers. We received many a pleasant salute on the road from the friendly Caffres; in some instances, however, the young people held out their hands with trembling apprehensions. We were espied from the village on our descending a small height at its vicinity. The presence of strangers seemed a great novelty, our party having been the second which had visited it, subsequently to that of Mr. B. All labour ceased, and there was a general buzz. They had all been occupied in giving a finish to the pretty church standing in front of the village. Before we departed, divine service was performed in it by Charles Henry, a Christian Caffre of admirable qualifications. His address was most affectionate; and the soft music of the hymns altogether heart-soothing. The Caffres eagerly supplied our horses with forage.

"The station is one of great superiority, and the village in a rising condition. Much may be expected from this mission. It was founded in concurrence with the wishes of Government and with the support of the chief Makomo. He is turbulent, but is pleased with Balfour."

Mr. Gisborne writes from Graham's Town, on the 23d of Sept. 1829, that he was with commando, "Who proceeded in a direction wide of Balfour, and he says he does not think it possible for soldiers to execute more mildly their orders to drive the Caffres out of the country, than was done by that body of troops. They carefully collected the few utensils and little food that was in the tents they were ordered to destroy; and

where old and helpless Caffres remained in the kraals, they left their huts standing, and gave them their own rations for their subsistence."—*Cape Advertiser*, October 10, 1829.

One account of the cause of expelling the Caffres, states that "Macomo invaded the country of another chief to compel the performance of an agreement. This chief complained to the English commandant of the frontier, who orders Macomo to restore the cattle he had seized. He obeys; but his people complain of being robbed; and proceed to retaliate on the boors and settlers. For this insolence Macomo and his people are driven across the Kat River, where they now remain."—*Cape Paper*, 4th July, 1829.

This is replied to by another writer, who indicates Macomo's claims, and who urges that, "The sudden and violent proceeding against Macomo was equally impolitic and unjust. The country he believed, and rightly believed, to be his own. It is not even part of the neutral ground.

"Is it, then, to be wondered at, that he should regard his expulsion as an unjust and cruel measure, for which his attack on the Tambookies is a mere pretext? The mode of executing the proposed plan could not but confirm his suspicion; a few hours only after he is ordered to retire, his cattle are seized, and his kraal set fire to by the commando; and upon his complaining of this as a breach of the promise that was made, he is informed that no harm is meant to the Caffres themselves, (although two persons were, I believe, shot,) but that it was necessary to fire into the bush to drive the cattle out.

"The system now pursued is radically bad; it may promote the interests of individuals, but will ultimately lead to the destruction of a people whom we are bound, by interest and duty, to instruct and protect. Woe to the interests of the colony, and to the very existence of the Caffres, should additional power be placed in hands already too willing to employ the engine of destruction as the most effectual one in the civilisation of savages." "A. Z."

Other correspondents in the Cape paper as strenuously justify the government; which, however, is reported to have seen its error, and to have offered some reparation to the expelled chief.

The settlement of certain Hottentots upon the spot in debate, is a remarkable proof of the little consideration in which the Cape Government estimate the feelings or the just claims of natives.

The claims of these Hottentots, whose rights General Bourke recognised in 1828 by Ordinance 50, have been sought to be satisfied in the spot from which we have driven Macomo. To obtain land for any portion of that oppressed race is so good an act, that it would be ungracious to look harshly at the mode of doing it, if our character for justice to others and for a wise policy were not involved in the particular way chosen.

The facts attending the locating of these few Hottentots in this *small* part of the neutral ground seem to be clear from the following documents; and if Sir Lowry Cole shall appear to have committed wrong against the Caffres, the friends of the men who have thus got some land, will find some satisfaction in their being found equal to the peculiar difficulties of the position chosen for them :—This fact is a new proof of their capacity for civilisation.

Cape Advertiser, Sept. 19, 1829.

Missionary Letter.

Hottentot locations on the Neutral Territory, 2d Sept. 1829.—

"I visited a party under the field-cornet Arnoldus Jans: it consists of 45 able men, who possess 9 waggons, 360 head of cattle, about 100 horses, 200 sheep and goats, and were making a plough.

"A second party under Jan Valentyn from Theopolis, consists of 30 able men, with 11 waggons and 5 ploughs. Many of their cattle remain at Theopolis.

"A third party under Andrias Botha, from Theopolis, consists of 20 able men: they possess 9 waggons and 3 ploughs.

"A fourth party under Christian Groep, which I visited, consists of 27 able men, 11 waggons, 700 head of cattle, 3600 sheep and goats, 140 horses, and 3 ploughs.

"At all the parties the water has been led out, and the people are in the highest spirits.

"The Caffres are not so troublesome as could have been expected; but yet they keep the people on the alert. I am sorry to say that four Caffres were shot at one of the stations."—*Letter from a Missionary, dated Graham's Town*, 9th Sept. 1829.

"On the Sabbath all the parties assembled at the place where Mr. Ross resided, to the number of 300, to whom I preached twice."—*Ib.*

Cape Advertiser, Sept. 19, 1829.

From a Correspondent at Graham's Town.

"A portion of the territory above Fort Beaufort has been given to an active and adventurous band of Bastaards, who carefully watch their flocks by day; and at night they are inclosed within a square formed by their habitations, in which are stationed two guards, taken from the party by rotation. To this place small parties of Caffres have frequently resorted in quest of plunder; and several have unfortunately paid in silence more than an equivalent to their *crimes*, by a forfeiture of their lives.

"The Hottentot settlement near Beaufort has many enemies; but I believe the settlers there are conducting themselves well."—*Letter dated in October* 1829, *from the Cape.*

It appears that the colonists are looking eagerly for grants in the neutral territory, the spot given to the Hottentots being but a very small portion of it. Since 1825 that part which lies west of the Koonap has been occupied by us. In reference to the expected division of this country, the Government lately issued the following notice:—

"*Government Notice.*—Whereas frequent applications are

made for grants of particular tracts of land, situated within the ceded territory,* on the left bank of the Koonap and Great Fish Rivers; notice is hereby given, that such applications will not be considered as securing to the applicants any *preferent* claim to such lands, nor as entitling them to take possession thereof, on pretence of priority of application.—Cape of Good Hope, 20th June, 1829. By command of his Excellency, the Governor.

JOHN BELL, Secretary to Government."

The alarm is the second point in this transaction. In various parts of the present volume, it has been urged that our injustice is ruinously expensive, and examples have been shown, which seem to prove that Sir George Yonge's advice was sound, (p. 80,) to buy our neighbours out, instead of driving them from the soil by force. The following documents (partly official) show that the violent proceedings against Macomo have also not been a little costly to us:—

Cape Paper, August 26th.

"A rumour is prevalent in town respecting the state of the eastern frontier. It is said that three Caffre chiefs, of whom Gaika is not one, have taken offence at the location of Hottentots, &c., in the ceded territory, which was to have remained neutral, they say, or which, at least, could only be divided and settled by mutual consent. The expulsion of Macomo is also represented as a strong measure, some affirming that the country from which he had been so unceremoniously driven was his own, and that he had committed no offence against the colony.

"Since writing the above, the following memorandum has been received from the Colonial office, for publication. We fervently hope that open war may yet be prevented, as it cannot fail to

* The extent of good land there is estimated at a million of acres and upwards.—*Cape Paper*, 4th July, 1829. Sir James Craig rescued this country from the boors in 1796.

produce the most horrible calamities on both sides. His Excellency's presence is imperatively called for: humane, wise, and experienced, he will find exercise for all his talents, and all his virtues in redressing, conciliating, and punishing, before peace and confidence can be restored to the frontier. We take the liberty to tell him so much before he sets out: we could tell him more, but he will soon know enough."

" Colonial Office, August 25.

" Advices were received this morning from the frontiers, by which it appears that a general apprehension prevails of approaching disturbances on the Caffre frontier; several of the Chiefs having manifested hostile intentions towards the colony. Up to the date of the dispatches no act of hostility had taken place; the troops were on the alert, and the armed burghers had received instructions to hold themselves in readiness to take the field in case of actual invasion of the colony."

" Cape Town, August 29th.

" The following notice has just been received from the Colonial Office for publication :—

' Colonial Office, August 28th.

' The advices received from the frontiers by this morning's post, contain no further intelligence regarding the apprehended hostile movements among the Caffro tribes; nor had any part of the armed burgher force been called out up to the 21st inst.

' We understand that his Excellency the Governor will leave town for the frontiers on Tuesday next. He purposes being in Graham's Town on the 19th of September.'"

" Graham's Town, August 28th.

" In the colony, the general conversation is about a coalition of the Caffre chiefs to attack the colony. In Caffreland it is not believed. Betwixt the two I can form no opinion. I believe the settlement of the Hottentots upon the ground from which the Caffres have lately been driven, aggravates the hostile feelings of the latter."

" Uitenhage, 28th August, 1829.

" The field-cornets throughout this district (and I know not

how many districts besides,) have ordered the burghers to be in readiness to take the field at a moment's warning. Notwithstanding which not the smallest alarm prevails here.... Tho last commando returned without firing a shot, or seeing a Caffre; it had however one effect, namely, that of preventing the rix-dollars mouldering in the treasury."

Cape Advertiser, Sept. 5th, 1829.

"From Yesterday's Gazette, Sept. 4.

"Colonial Office, Sept. 3rd, 1829.

"Up to the 28th ultimo, the Caffre frontier remained quiet. Depredations, however, continued to a considerable extent, particularly towards the lower part of tho Fish River, where several parties of Caffres appear to have entered the colony. The necessary measures had been taken for removing them beyond the frontiers."

"The Governor set out for the interior on the 3d inst."—Ib.

Cape Advertiser, Sept. 5th, 1829.

"Graham's Town, August 20th.

"We have been inundated with reports this week, of the unfriendly disposition of the Caffres, to which sufficient credence has been given, to induce the authorities to dispatch an extra mail to the seat of Government. It appears that since the expulsion of Macomo from the ceded territory, that adventurous chief has been unceasingly employed in representing to the numerous Caffre chiefs, that such procedure was an act of wanton aggression, and that if tamely submitted to, it would only be the prelude to other measures, which would not only endanger their independence, but lead to a complete subjugation of their country ..... their plans seem matured.... that there is something connected with the modern history of the Caffres, which induces us to doubt the extent of the pretended league: and when we reflect upon the zeal with which we were guided across their country to repel the incursions of the Fiteani, (Chaca,) and the gratitude evinced by them on that occasion;—on the cordiality which has subsisted between our authorities and their chiefs;—

on the reciprocal integrity of our mercantile transactions;—and above all, on the influence which the beneficent and peaceful missionary exercises over them, we confess our credulity stops far short of the prevalent rumours; and that nothing short of demonstration can prove them to be true in their full extent.—S. J."

Cape Paper, August 29th, 1829.

"Extract of a letter from Graham's Town, 12th August, 1829. —'I have just arrived from Fort Willshire and the adjacent country bordering on the Keiskamma. I have had an interview with Gaika and several chiefs. They are distressed beyond measure at the war-whoop that has been sounded in their country; and appear to be deeply incensed at the hostile preparations and commandos which threaten them. Gaika said he would willingly sacrifice 5000 head of cattle, if he could ascertain those persons who have been the means of stirring up the strife.

'With respect to the neutral territory, he and the other chiefs argued with tolerable shrewdness. Although not disposed to palliate the conduct of some of his countrymen who occupied a portion of that land, it was said that these were quite as worthy as some of the Hottentots who had taken possession of certain vacated portions. Again, it was observed, if it is to be neutral ground, let it be so. Why divide the land in portions for the whites? Why give an extensive farm in the neutral ground to a civil servant of Government? If it were necessary to burn out our people from the neutral ground, why not consult us?

'Gaika is well acquainted with all that transpires in the Cape newspapers, and said at the conclusion of my interview, with much earnestness, though sick, 'The Governor of the Colony has got bad reporters, tell-tales, false sayers. Would that I could see the ears of one of these liars nailed on the gates of the Fort, (Willshire,) and I would become a water-drinker for life.'"

Cape Paper, Sept. 12th, 1829.

"Uitenhage, 4th Sept.—On Monday the Commissioner-general arrived here in four days from Swellendam, a journey of 400

miles. We understand that this great speed was occasioned by the "hubbub" amongst the Caffres. He started for the frontier at four o'clock yesterday morning."

Private letter. *Cape Advertiser*, Sept. 12th, 1829.

"I found the military on the frontiers all ready for an expected invasion by the Caffres. But I saw not the smallest reason to expect it during my delightful ride through Caffraria. Every thing was peaceable; and I was always treated well by the poor people; never having the smallest dread of sleeping in their huts."

Ib. Graham's Town, Sept. 4th, 1829.

"All our fears of a Caffre invasion have vanished. Allotting a portion of the neutral territory to the Hottentots, seems to have given Macomo deep offence; and were his means equal to his inclination, there is little doubt that he would make an immediate show of hostility."

The truth appears to be that the sparing of half the tribes meant to have been expelled, saved the colony from a renewal of the scenes of 1819.

The Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, arrived on the frontier in October, and is reported to have informed some of the Caffres that they would be allowed still to occupy certain parts of the neutral ground.

The Caffres are afterwards said to have become very troublesome, and the Bushmen are reported to have attacked several farmers' houses, and to have wounded one or two people with poisoned arrows. A commando has been ordered out in pursuit of the aggressors.—*Cape Advertiser*, October 31st, 1829.

The third point, the success of the 49th ordinance, for the admission of the natives generally as free laborers and otherwise into the colony, required every care in the execution of the law. By it the Governor was empowered to "make and publish" certain regulations

in detail. It was passed in July 1828; and was followed up in 1829, by circumstances announced in this manner in the Cape Advertiser:—

"The following proclamation has just been issued:—

"'Whereas it has been represented to me that there are at this present time great numbers of armed persons belonging to tribes beyond the frontiers chiefly Caffres, wandering about at Uitenhage, Albany, and Somerset, by means of passes which they have obtained from the several missionary stations beyond the borders, under ordinance No. 49, but without having obtained, or sought to obtain, service with the colonists—

"And whereas these foreigners have already committed, and are daily committing, great depredations on the cattle and other property of the colonists—

"Now, therefore, I do order that no passes shall be henceforth granted to any Caffre, until further proclamations be made to that effect. And all Caffres found wandering there, not being under contract and employed, shall be apprehended and disarmed, and conducted to the nearest magistrate or military post towards the frontier, there to be dealt with in such manner as to me shall seem expedient, and the circumstances of the case may require.

25th August, 1829. "G. Lowry Cole."

"This is a miserable affair. Would to God the Governor were at this moment in Graham's Town! We throw, by allusion, no blame on any individual; but there has been misunderstanding, of which more hereafter."—*Cape Paper.*

It seems that the regulations intended by the Cape law above mentioned to be made by the Governor, were *not published.* They appeared through a private hand in the Cape Advertiser a year after being made, and upon the occasion of this alarm in August last. The regulations were addressed to the missionaries in Caffreland, requesting them to give passes to natives who were then to take those passes to the frontier magistrates. Recent

inquiry shows that about one thousand "foreigners" are in the colony, of whom not five hundred obtained passes from the missionaries. Who admitted the others does not appear: neither is there any proof that a single native who received a pass from the missionary, neglected to report himself to the magistrates.

These vexations will surely be a lesson to the Cape Government to execute its powers with more care. The regulations themselves are said to have been wise; but publication would improve most laws by exciting suggestions on them, and, what is far more important, facilitate their execution if good; or hasten their repeal or improvement, if unsuitable.

On the fourth point, the civilisation of the Caffres, it is gratifying to know that the whole neutral ground has not yet been seized by us. Some of the Mandanke are spared; and at the part occupied by the Gonaquabis, instead of bloodshed, such scenes as the following are taking place:

"The Commissioner-General * of the eastern provinces of the colony arrived at Wesleyville this morning, being charged with a communication from his Excel-

* The Commissioner-General is a white native of the colony; and his history relative to the black natives, proves that the government will be well supported in good measures by the Dutch Africans, as instruments, if firmness be evinced. But the white colonists must not yet be the directors of our policy. If Sir Lowry Cole had directed this border functionary to settle the case of Macomo, and that of old Enno, only upon similar principles with those pursued towards the Gonaquabis, an equally beneficial result might have been anticipated. It is merely necessary to lead right, and followers from amongst the most prejudiced will be plentiful. This commissioner, who met his former enemies thus frankly at the missionary's house, was once

lency the Governor to the chiefs; the purport of which is, that so long as they continue to behave themselves with the quietness and good faith towards the colony which have marked their conduct for a considerable time past, his Excellency will protect them from the hostility of any other tribe desirous of oppressing them. The chiefs intimated their fixed determination to continue on good terms with the colony.

"With reference to past events, the commissioner remarked to the chiefs, 'we do not now seek each other with the musket or the assagay, to shed each other's blood; when we meet, it is to be good friends,—the bad times are passed. The Caffres killed my father, and you were near at the time: the boors killed your father, and I was not far off when it happened. These were bad doings, but now all is changed. You have received missionaries—you have now the same word of God that we have. The only difference between us is the colour of our skin; and though you are black, and we are white, yet God has made of one blood all nations of the earth.' To these observations, expressed in a manner at once simple and forcible, the chiefs, who strongly felt them, warmly expressed their assent. The Commissioner dined with us, and as he did not object to the presence of the chiefs at table, Pato, Kama,* and Congo together with Kye, who had come with Brother Young from Mount Coke, dined with us, and behaved with great propriety:

an active agent in destroying missionary stations, but now perceives the wisdom of a more honest policy.

* "Kama was recently baptised; and is now a professed Christian. He has lately purchased a waggon."—Letter from Caffreland, dated October 1829. Kama is brother-in-law to Macomo; and there is probably no reason, except in the treat-

such an occurrence would have been thought within the range of possibility a few years ago."—April, 27, 1829.

The accounts from the Caffre Frontier in August last, seem to have induced the Governor of the colony to visit a spot so much requiring his presence before, whilst the partial seizure of the neutral territory was in actual progress. The alarm of a general combination of the chiefs proved unfounded. But Sir Lowry Cole must have seen the necessity of a more considerate treatment of our neighbours. It is not probably yet decided what course of policy to follow upon this quarter; and even if discussion be too late for any practical purpose there, we may be assured that the new boundary of the Keiskamma is only acquired as a step towards another river, to be inevitably reached with more havoc and expence, unless new principles be steadily established. In such a case it will especially be wise to be honest. At present, whilst the settlers are improving their new farms with a perpetually armed watch, the expelled and crowded Caffres will acquire fire-arms gradually, and will be improving their means of revenge. If we reform they will pass by their wrongs, but rights are never forgotten, and the English (traders and travellers) cannot with every caution avoid the topic, or the acknow-

ment Macomo has met with, why he should not make similar advances. All that we have done hitherto towards him is only calculated to debase his character—to render him revengeful for the injuries he receives at our hands, and suspicious of our intention. The past, however, may still be redeemed, if sound policy and an enlightened and Christian liberality regulate the future government of the border. But it is impossible that the Caffres should learn civilisation, whilst all our lessons are of the most barbarous kind; and if our cupidity gives them no breathing time.

ledgment of the truth; so that the frontier will always be liable to attack until the wrongs be repaired. In like circumstances, the deepest apparent tranquillity was broken up, against all expectation year after year, on the old eastern frontier, after the same people were expelled from the Zureveld in 1811; and the history of all barbarians shews the suddenness and perseverance of their just revenge.

A variety of details may be found in the Cape Advertiser of September, October, and November last: but the clear points in the midst of contradictions, and of the obscurity with which the subject is confused *in consequence of the government proceedings not being regularly promulgated*, are:

First. That Macomo, the son of Gaika, is driven from certain lands without any negotiation, and in order that people from the colony may occupy them.

Secondly. That these lands are either in the neutral territory, to which we have only a qualified right, or in Caffreland, where we have no right at all.

Thirdly. That Macomo had encouraged missionaries, till their station and his kraals were broken up together by Christians.

Fourthly. That he has been expelled unnecessarily, as well as unwisely.

Fifthly. That general alarm of a Caffre invasion overspread the Cape colony, in consequence partly of the proceedings against Macomo;—partly from the colonial government having no sound communications with the Caffre Chiefs.

Sixthly. That the main bodies of the Caffres are more disposed to be at peace than to fight with us.

Seventhly. That for several years it has been determined to seize all the country west of the Keiskamma.

Eighthly. That this step is suspended in favour of certain parts of tribes, who are willing to remain in the neutral territory in friendship.

Ninthly. That since 1825 many farms have been granted them west of the Koonap; and they have been occupied safely in the neighbourhood of Macomo's Caffres; and more farms further eastward are eagerly sought by the colonists.

Tenthly. That a part of the country taken from Macomo, has been accepted willingly by Hottentots, and cultivated by them with spirit; although in the neighbourhood of Caffres known to be irritated by recent injury:—and consequently the same people could occupy lands usefully in the heart of the colony. (See Appendix, No. 13.)

From these points, four conclusions seem to be sound:

1st. That full compensation should be made to the Caffres.

2dly. That the union of some of the Caffres, Hottentots, and white settlers in separate field-cornetcies, but one district, may be brought about in the neutral territory; thus beginning a system of free connection between us and our neighbours.

3rdly. That a treaty for that purpose will have the happiest effects on the peace of the frontier, and on the civilisation of the Caffres.

4thly. That a more systematic communication should be had between the Cape Government and the chiefs of the interior; for which two commissioners are proposed below, (pp. 177 and 239.)

CHAPTER IV.

3.—*Trade duly protected.*

It is universally agreed that trade is an important means of civilisation; and there cannot be a stronger argument in favour of its probable increase in the interior, than the proof afforded by experience of the mistake of those persons who have considered its height already reached. How little can be safely asserted to its disadvantage before a fair trial, may be seen in the following statement. When writing a book intended to show the value of the Cape to Great Britain, Barrow could have no disposition to underrate the physical resources of South Africa; and he cautiously introduces his estimates by a reference to what even the old colony might supply, "when governed by salutary laws, and inhabited by industrious and intelligent men." Yet of one article he declares, in his second edition, (vol. ii. page 335.) in his view of the Cape productions, "that we may *safely* conclude that ivory is not to be reckoned among the valuable exports which the Cape can supply for the markets of Europe."

He mentions the export of ivory to have been 5981 lbs. in four years ending 1802, or, in each year, about

1500lbs. During twenty years the Government verified his observation, not by a trial of the trade, but in excluding intercourse with collectors of the article. The change, which took place after 1819, gave the results stated in the following table; and all the late travellers agree that the new countries abound in elephants.

Years.	lbs. Ivory.	Years.	lbs. Ivory.	Years.	lbs. Ivory.
1799	1,481	1819	1,910	1824	20,661
1800	1,500	1820	8,870	1825	106,778
1801	1,500	1821	4,538	1826	48,258
1802	1,500	1822	24,420	1827	38,140
1818	3,815	1823	19,420	1828	21,413

Barrow, although aware that ivory was obtained beyond the colonial boundaries, yet fell into the same error which so many others, adopting the narrow views of Government, have committed, in cutting the colony off from the interior; to which, in every just view of policy, it should be esteemed only an entrance.* Trading with the natives will unquestionably increase, how-

* It will be seen that Baron Hogendorp and Major Bouchenroeder had enlarged views upon the subject, at the last occupation of the colony by the Dutch. Mr. Burchell's speculations will be mentioned: and Mr. Thompson refers specifically, but with inconsiderable details, to this trade. See also Bowdich's Mozambique.

The practical and experienced author of "The State of the Cape in 1822," is of opinion that of "*ivory* there is a probability of a considerable increase"—(p. 119.)—through the confidence caused by missionary exertions; but in regard to the sale of the produce of herds, of so much importance to the civilisation and industry of the tribes, he does not look beyond the colony. p. 118—119.

ever the Government may act. Under ill regulations smugglers will be numerous; but well regulated, it may be turned to an excellent account towards civilising the natives. The Commissioners of Inquiry had the advantage of witnessing the beneficial consequences of the recent commercial intercourse which they had themselves encouraged; and with reason they close their general report, by carefully connecting "the tranquillity of the frontier on the side of Caffreland, with the commercial enterprise of the colony." They justly look upon the "heavy expense incurred in maintaining" peace, as likely to be compensated in some degree by peace extending trade;—anticipating "its reduction only by the progressive establishment of more amicable relations with the native tribes."

There is no ground to believe the Commissioners friendly to any other than to a private trade of that sort which may be described in very few words. The natives happily possess no accumulated wealth, either to pay tribute to a conqueror, or to enrich monopolists; and the interior *trade*, to be profitable, *must be left to private, unprivileged exertion*. Under the protection of the good-will to arise from an improved general system, and from wise regulations, and supported by a vigorous execution of laws adapted to the existing state of things, considerable returns will probably be secured upon small capitals.*

* The Commissioners of Inquiry have removed another difficulty in opinion, which was directly opposed to the improvement of the natives, and which seems to have prevailed strongly with unprejudiced persons under the old order of things. Lichtenstein

Mr. Burchell* has drawn up a plan, which seems chiefly attractive by expressly having the interests of the natives in view: he intends investing a joint-stock company with exclusive rights, in the hope that its respectability will insure justice to the natives. Experience, however, proves, as in the example of the North-west Company in British America, and of all other Companies, that such expectation is vain. Nor do the profits of the trade in South Africa seem likely to support the usual expences of any company.

The nature of that which may safely be expected to succeed in Africa, cannot indeed be described better than in the words of the Chief Mohamed, brought by the late Governor Denham, in a letter from central Africa, to the king.

"The Rayes Khaleel (the traveller Denham) desired of us leave that merchants seeking for elephant-teeth, ostrich-feathers, and other such things, not to be found in England, might come among us. We told him that our country, as he himself knows, does not suit any heavy (rich) traveller, who may possess great wealth; that if a few light persons (small capitalists), as four or

has printed Governor Janssens' Journal of his treaty with the Caffres in 1803; and in this document it is stated that "the Governor recommended the Caffres to abstain from all commerce with the colonists, and promised them, if they would do so, to send them from Cape Town whatsoever they should want of European manufactures, at very moderate prices. They adhered to the proposition that it was better to trade with the colonists, *although it was proved, and is easily to be conceived, that they were almost always overreached by them.*"—1 Lichtenstein 315.

* Travels in South Africa.

five only, with light merchandise would come, there will be no harm." *

What may be produced by private itinerant trading and by fairs, is shewn by the following tables. In regard to ivory, Mr. Barrow missed the point of its probable increase by being too little acquainted with the habits of the people, and with the resources and natural history of South Africa. Another respectable writer has fallen into similar errors on this subject. "Next to gold," says Murray, "ivory has always been the great subject of African export. Like gold it is produced solely in the *interior* . . . . . Where those *vast meadows* lie which feed such herds of elephants has never yet been ascertained; but Europe derives from Africa *its whole supply* of this valuable article."† The common trade-lists will shew that scarcely a week passes without arrivals of ivory from *Asia;* and a slight knowledge of South Africa proves the haunts of the elephants to be chiefly forests and woody ravines: places more likely to be frequent towards the sea than in the less moist interior, but found doubtless, as these animals are, throughout the greater part of the continent.

From the nature of things, however, elephants must be diminished in number, as a population, armed with guns, fills the country. That is a distant event; and we may in the mean time look to ivory as an article to be relied on to a considerable value, in return for the exertions of the enterprising trader in South Africa.

* Denham's Travels, Appendix, page 138. "The Egyptian trade with the interior is carried on with very small capitals."—Burckhardt's Nubia, 304.

† Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica; Art. Africa, p. 108.

The papers in p. 117. give the results of two fairs established for the native trade from the Orange River. They contain some indications of the resources of the tribes, but are more important as proving a disposition to turn their industry to a good account.

The steady increase of the native trade may also be collected from this specimen of exports from Cape-Town.

Years.	Ivory. lbs.	Horns.	Hides.	Alocs. lbs.	
1799.	1481	Not specified by Barrow in his estimate of the improveable exports of the Cape. They seem not to have been exported at all until the year 1820.	2, or 3000	126,684	In these years it cannot be said that there existed any trade with the native tribes. Mr. Barrow states the ivory to have been collected by a few families of Hottentots, on the Orange River.
1800.	1500		2, or 3000	71,843	
1801.	1500		2, or 3000	52,181	The herds of cattle which of late years have supplied a large increasing export of hides and horns, then were the periodical prey of commandoes.
1802.	1500		2, or 3000	91,219	
1818.	3,815		4,560		"Before the proclamation of 1821, (for opening the trade in some degree,) Gaika, with some of his people, occasionally met the Landrost, *as factor to the government*, at the clay-pits, to barter ivory and other produce for red-clay." —Pamphlet published at Cape Town, 1827. p. 29.
1819.	1,910		5,955		The falling off in 1819 is accounted for in the preamble to Sir R. Donkin's law of 20th July, 1821, which states that "the disturbances of 1818" interrupted the supply of articles to the Caffres through the usual *channel of Government*.

Years.	Ivory. lbs.	Horns.	Hides.	Aloes.	
1820.	9,510	500	3,819		The sudden increase of 1820 may be attributed to the fair of 1819 at Beaufort, where 6474 lbs. of ivory were obtained from the Griquas, &c.
1821.	4,538	3,010	2,732		That fair produced only 1259 lbs. the next year, which lowered the export of 1821. The place was too far from the country where the ivory was collected.
1822.	24,420	29,266	16,391		The facilities given to trade by Sir R. Donkin probably caused the increase of exports in 1822. His *annual* fair was established, 20th July 1821. Smuggling was probably great.
1823.	19,885	15,011	15,017		The falling off in 1823-4. seems to have been justly attributed to Sir R. Donkin's plans being checked, although smuggling continued to be considerable. In 1822. and 23. Lord C. Somerset rigorously prohibited all trading; and the settlers' memorial of the 10th March, 1823. to Earl Bathurst, complains of the evils of the renewed non-intercourse system. The supply of the Caffres' wants at this time is alleged to have been a source of gain to the colonial functionaries. Papers on the Caffre Frontier.—Oriental Herald for 1827. p. 227. The publication of accounts on the spot would either prevent such abuse, or the imputation of it.
1824.	20,661	48,436	12,126		The revived and more frequent fairs, and other intercourse on improved plans of 1824. must have led to the great increase of exports in 1825.
1825.	106,778	62,554	29,722		

Years.	Ivory. lbs.	Horns.	Hides.	Aloes.
1826.	48,258	66,615	40,047	
1827.	38,140	78,289	75,210*	
1828.	21,413	95,069	Besides leather in considerable quantities.	

The improved plans of intercourse continued in force in 1825, 6, 7, but the first year was likely to produce the greatest return of ivory, of which stores might be on hand; but several errors of management are also noticed in the colonial newspapers and other publications.

The gradual and steady increase of the export of hides to which the Caffres contribute, will perhaps be found a better criterion of their habits than the ivory trade, which will hereafter be drawn from the more remote interior.

"A regular market had also been now (1824.) opened on the banks of the Keiskamma for ivory, hides, gum, and other native productions, in exchange chiefly for beads and buttons. This barter had previously existed to a trifling extent, but had been restricted exclusively to the military officers and the local functionaries. At the instance of the Commissioners of Inquiry this monopoly had been given up. In the course of about 12 months it had already greatly extended itself; and not to speak of its growing consequence as a branch of colonial commerce, its influence as a means of promoting the civilisation of the natives was becoming every day more obvious. The Caffres are now supplied not merely with beads and buttons, but also with iron pots, clothing, and other articles of utility, for which the demand is

* The steady increase of the export of hides is so much the more important, that they go to a market which will scarcely be ever closed to an English colony, as the demand in England approaches in value to one million sterling yearly.

gradually increasing."—Caffre Frontier. Oriental Herald, p. 13. No. 42.

In November 1818, Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation to the following effect:—

" Whereas the peculiar circumstances of the Ghoap and Niewveld require the immediate controul of a local magistracy; and it is highly necessary that such regulations be enforced on that part of the frontier as shall effectually prevent those misunderstandings with the tribes adjoining to or in the vicinity of the colonial territory, and with the numerous and increasing class of Bastaards,* which have led to the most inexcusable excesses: Therefore the Governor founds ..... Beaufort .... and directs a person to reside at the Klep or Kock fontein, to invite the wandering Bosjesman or Bastaards to reside there, and to receive instructions in the principles of Christianity.

" And the magistrate was to establish a market at Klip fontein, and take every possible measure to invite and entice the neighbouring tribes of Briquas, Boshuanas, and Bastaards to come thither periodically, with cattle and other effects, and to invite hawkers and others to attend, using the strongest precautions for the protection of the people who should come into the territory on these occasions."

The plan was executed vigorously; communication was had with the missionary resident on the Orange, amongst the people thus invited into the colony; and in July 1819 the following announcement appeared in the Cape Gazette:—" Mr Anderson from Griqua Town proposes coming himself to the fair at the Kock fontein

* Mulattoes are so termed at the Cape.

on the 4th of next month. The articles he represents his people to be most in want of are, clothing, such as hats, cloth for jackets, calicoes, checks, prints, striped cotton, blue handkerchiefs, metal buttons. For agriculture, ploughshares, spades, large hoes, common tools, hatchets, hammers, adzes, common-sized chisels, do. planes, files, beads of the size of a pea, of blue, white, and black colours; knives (with sheath), forks, iron pots of different sizes, basins, tea, padlocks, brass tinder-boxes, and steels." An account of the first fair was published as follows, in the Gazette of 11th September, 1819.

"Beaufort, 19th August, 1819.

"Sir—I have the honor to enclose herewith a general tariff of articles, the produce of the country brought by the inhabitants of the colony, and the northern tribe of Bastaards, to the fair at Kock fontein, from the 5th to the 10th instant, Sunday the 8th excepted.

"I am happy to say that the transactions on both sides were regular, liberal, and fair;—I speak from personal daily attendance; and I have every reason to be highly satisfied, both with the conduct of the colonists, and of the tribe of Bastaards.* There were few of the other neighbouring tribes present, and those few came in the *service* of the former, and without any articles for barter.

* "Mr. Le Clerk, an experienced colonist, spoke very favorably of the Griquas during their attendance at the last fair... He asserted that they were a thinking people, possessed more knowledge than their white neighbours, were ready to listen to reason, and to yield their assent to the force of argument."—Feb. 1820. Campbell's Second Journey, vol. 1. p. 21.

"There were on our side but six waggons with merchandize, and about sixteen more with tobacco, fruit, brandy, wine, &c.* I calculate the transactions at the fair in buying and selling, amount to about 15,000 rix-dollars.

"The tribes entered and returned out of the colony under the directions of Captains Barend and Kock, in number one hundred and twenty souls, with twenty-five waggons and about fifty teams.

"The captains with their people took leave on the 14th instant, full of expressions of gratitude for his Lordship's magnanimous and benevolent intentions in their behalf, which they saw and acknowledged to be solely for their benefit.

Signed J. Baird,
Deputy Landroost.

To Col. Bird, Colonial Secretary."

The tariff of the produce will be found in the first column of the next tables.

The Gazette of the next year's fair was as follows:—

Extract of a Letter from Beaufort, dated 4th of May, 1820.

"The second Beaufort fair terminated as successfully as the first. The Bastaard Griquas and Koranas under the Chiefs Kock and Barend, and the Bootchuanas or

* "The Griquas were greatly disappointed at not being able to obtain tools, ploughshares, tar for their waggons, or anything that they wanted, except clothing."—Mr. Campbell's Second Journey, vol. 2. p. 138.

Briquas under the Chiefs Chaka and Matlanka, altogether about 200 in number, reached this on the 23d ult. with 27 waggons laden with elephants' teeth, salt, skins of all kinds, wheat, honey, and various curiosities, driving before them 700 oxen.

"On the 25th the fair began, and continued until the 2d instant, when the colonial traders and those from the interior separated, highly satisfied with the mutual fair-dealing, and confidence which had prevailed throughout; of which, as well as of the regular peaceable conduct of all, I was an eye-witness, and am happy to give them the most unequivocal testimony. It was particularly striking on the part of the strangers, who, though they can only be considered in a great measure as savages, vied with the colonists in maintaining order and regularity.

"The Bricqua chiefs were delighted with the reception they met with, and thanked us in the name of their king Mateebe, who, they said, had sent them to see how things were carried on; as it was his intention to come in person to the next fair, with numbers of his people, who possess abundance of ivory."

The following is the official tariff of the articles brought to these Beaufort fairs:—

1819.	1820.	Articles.
200	39	Elephants' teeth.
700	707	Oxen and breeding cattle.
7	50	Tiger and cat skins.
84	62	Cured eland, buffalo, and ox-hides.
265	630	Sambocks, (whips of rhinoceros hide.)*

* "The whips of the hippopotamus' skins are made at Sennaar, and on the Nile above that place; immediately after being taken off, the skin is

1819.	1820.	Articles.
13	25	Sets of thongs.
16	5	Buffalo and rhinoceros horns.*
24	59	Pieces of soap.
38	69½	Muids of salt.
	6	Cakes of yellow wax.
6	10	Pieces of stone for pipes.
	5	Leathern bags with honey.
	20	
17	167	Briquas carosses, or cloaks.
5	59	Do. knives with sheaths.
11	425	Do. rings.
5	17	Bamboos or tubs.†
	18	Do. caps.
	171	Sets of beads.
	158	Do. spoons.
	14	Do. skin bucklers with assagays.
	21	Do. assagays.
	6	Do. pipes.
	198	Do. pair ear-rings.
	25	Do. battle-axes.
	58	Pieces of camel soles.
400		Ostrich feathers.‡

cut into narrow strips, about five or six feet in length, gradually tapering to a point. Each strip is then rolled up, so that the edges unite, and form a pipe, in which state it is tied fast and left to dry in the sun. In order to render these whips pliable, they must be rubbed with butter or grease. At Shendy they are sold at the rate of twelve or sixteen for a Spanish dollar. In Egypt, where they are in general use, and the dread of every servant and peasant, they are worth from half a dollar to a dollar each. In colder climates, even in Syria, they become brittle, crack, and lose their elasticity."

* "The horn of the rhinoceros is worked at Cairo into ornaments for the handles of swords, &c. It is dear; I have seen pieces about four inches long and one inch thick, sold for four and five Spanish dollars each." Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 313.

† "Another import into Egypt from Kordofan are large wooden bowls carved, it is said, out of the root of a tree, &c."—Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 318.

‡ "The trade in ostrich feathers is one of the most complicated in the markets of Africa. At Cairo, the feathers are assorted into several different qualities, and parcels are made up by the Jews, who alone understand the trade well, containing portions of every kind. Each parcel of ten pounds' weight must contain one pound of the finest and whitest sort, one pound

MARKET PRICES UPON THE ACTUAL SALES.

1819. Quantity.	1820. Quantity.	Names of Articles.	Rate.	1819. Prices.		1820. Prices.	
6474	1259	lbs. elephants' teeth	stivers per lb.	39 to 75		42 to 75	
257	411	Draught oxen	rix-dollars each	10	15	8	30
11	9	Breeding cattle	———	8	13	8	$9\frac{3}{4}$
7	33	Tiger and cat skins	———	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
84	72	Tanned eland, buffalo and ox hides	—	4	10	4	$9\frac{1}{4}$
265	630	Sambocks	———	$0\frac{1}{4}$	5	$0\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
13	18	Sets of leathern thongs	———	6	8	$6\frac{1}{2}$	10
16	5	Buffalo and rhinoceros horns	———	$\frac{1}{2}$	9	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$
38	$69\frac{1}{2}$	Muids of salt	rix-dollars per muid	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$		
72	138	lbs. of soap	stivers per lb.	6	13	13	15
	10	Yellow wax	———		19		19
6	10	Pieces of stone for pipes*	rix-dollars	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	5	Leathern bags with honey	———			10	16
	20					$\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$
17	151	Briquas carosses	———	$4\frac{1}{2}$	51	$3\frac{1}{2}$	40
5	49	Do. knives and scabbards	———	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
11	84	—rings	stivers each	6	12	6	12
5	7	—bamboos or tubs	rix-dollars each	2	4	2	4
	6	—cups	———	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2
	63	—sets of Beads	per set	1	$1\frac{3}{4}$	1	$1\frac{3}{4}$
	31	—spoons	——			$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{5}{6}$
	4	—skins, bucklers, and assagays.†				4	6
	12	—assagays	——			1	2
	6	—pipes	——			$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
	13	—pair ear-rings	——			$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
	9	—axes	——			$1\frac{1}{2}$	2
	58	pieces camel soles ‡	——			$\frac{1}{2}$	3

of the second quality, also white, but of a smaller size, and 8lbs. of the sorts called Jemima, Bajoca, Coda and Spadone, the last of which is black, and of little value. The market price of white sorted feathers is at present (1816), 280 piasters per rotolo or pound."—Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 282.

* "Pipe and pipeheads of clay are imported (into Nubia) from Sennaar."—Burckhardt's Nubia, 297.

† "The giraffe is highly prized by the Arabs for its skin for bucklers."—Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 282.

‡ "At the market at Shendy the country people sell mats, baskets, ox-hides, and other skins, coarse pottery, camel-saddles, wooden dishes, &c."—Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 296.

The inhabitants of different country districts brought to market 15 waggons of merchandise of all descriptions at various price, besides

Raisins	at	per lb.	4 skillings.
Pears			
Peaches		each	1 ———
Walnuts		per 100	4 ———
Almonds			
Turkeys		each	3 rix-dollars.

5 waggons at from 300 to 900 rix-dollars.
and 4 horses from 60 to 110 do.

Beaufort, May 4th, 1820.
Signed G. Tante.

In 1819 the colonists sold:

Brandy	at	2 rix-dollars per case bottle.
Wine		1 ——— —
Oranges		2 ——— per 100.
Raisins		4 skillings per lb.
Peaches		2 ——— each.
Tobacco		4 ———

Four waggons at from 350 to 700 rix-dollars each.
Twenty horses at from 60 to 100.

The Rev. Mr. Campbell was on his 2nd journey at the period of the latter fair, and at Latakoo found the people returned. He says they found the distance too great; and their want of *beads* not supplied. In other respects their impressions seem to have been generally favorable, from what they saw, and from the reception they met with.

The Beaufort fairs are understood to have fallen into decay, for which their distance from the Orange River will sufficiently account. The natives beyond the Orange River require such establishments, amongst others, nearer home. There can be no doubt of the great advantage of them in many respects; but they seem to be especially calculated to check the occasional frauds

of the itinerant traders, who will at first chiefly supply goods to the remote countries. It may deserve consideration whether the time of holding fairs cannot be fixed at periods when other business is transacted. If fairs continue to be useful at Beaufort, there would arise many important benefits from their being held immediately before or after the circuit court sits there. At such as are more distant, it might be arranged that authorised officers of the Government of lower rank than judges, should attend for deciding many questions frequent on the frontiers independent of fairs; which would also become more respectable by their presence.*

* Various other fairs have been established at the Cape since that of Beaufort; but the system of publishing the results in the Gazette has been injudiciously discontinued. The independent newspapers, however, sometimes notice the subject, as in the following example:—

"Clanwilliam, May 1829.

"There was an unsuccessful attempt made some few years since to establish a border fair at the farthest extremity of the Agter Hantam: both the place, however, and the season of the year, were injudiciously chosen. There can be little doubt that the establishment of a fair, at the place of the Field Cornet Nieuwoudt, in the Onder Bokkweld, at the proper time of the year, (respecting the latter, the border Field Cornets might be consulted) would be found most beneficial to this part of the country. Large supplies of store, cattle, hides, skins, ostrich-feathers, &c. &c. would, when the fair became sufficiently known, be here exchanged for colonial produce and British manufactures, and what is of equal, if not greater importance, a kindly feeling and a desire of good neighbourhood would thus be stimulated between the border colonists and various independent tribes on that frontier.

Articles wanted by the Griquas, Bechuanas, and Coranas:

Waggons
Horses
Sheep and goats
Guns
Ammunition and flints
Iron and steel
Waggon wood
Carpenters' tools, common
Smiths' do.
Wheelwrights' do.
Tea
Sugar
Coffee
Rice
Pepper
Paper
Pens
Knives
Razors
Tea-pots
Basons
Nails of all sizes
Box locks, a few
Padlocks, many
Awls for shoemaking
Spades
Pickaxes
Saddles and bridles
Pewter dishes
Tea-kettles
Iron pots
Frying pans
Gridirons
Snuff-boxes
Tobacco
Looking-glasses
Thimbles
Tailors' do.
Needles
Pins
Thread
Ear-rings
Finger do.
Men's jackets
Waistcoats, a few
Coarse clothing
A few fine cloaths
Baize
Duffel
Blue and white linen
Handkerchiefs, many
Stockings, a few
Shawls, many
Files, many
Rasps, do.
Hats, do.
Beads chiefly black and white
Buttons
Tinder boxes

"This trade, however, I am sorry to say, from the want of proper management, is *rapidly declining in every respect;* as not only the quantity of produce brought by the Caffres has decreased, but the articles are very much depreciated in value. Both these evils, I have no hesitation in asserting, are owing to the bad system on which this business is conducted. Government allowing only *one spot* as the channel through which the Caffres can dispose of their produce, doubtless prevents many tribes from bringing their articles to market, as it is well known that the misunderstandings and jealousies of Chiefs will cause them to deny egress through their country to tribes situated behind them; and this has been the case with respect to a very numerous tribe (Conga's) in the immediate vicinity of the present spot where the fair is held; but who, from not being on good terms with Gaika, have for a long time past had no means of disposing of their produce, which must now be very considerable.

"There can be no doubt, that if communication with the Caffres were allowed at *all the different drifts* on the present line of boundary, treble the quantity of produce and articles of barter might

Articles that might be brought to market by the Griquas, Bechuanas, and Coranas:

Ivory
Ox-hides
Hides of wild animals in great quantities and of many various kinds
Cattle
Horns of many kinds
Earthen pots
Wooden bowls of every kind
Do. spoons
Stone pipes
Knives very curious
Carosses 1 cat-skin
——— 2 jackalls
——— 3 ox-hides
——— 4 lion
——— 5 leopard
——— 6 knou
——— 7 hart-buck
——— 8 red-cat
——— 9 sheep
——— 10 lambs
——— 11 red buck
——— 12 elephants' paunch
——— 13 party-colored
Assagays
Battle-axes
Shields
Bows and arrows
Ear-rings
Arm do.
Finger do.
Awls for sewing
Caffre corn
Beans
Peas, that bear under ground
Sweet cakes made of wild berries
Copper beads
Pebbles from the Orange River
Asbestos
Sambocks of rhinoceros and sea cow skins
Dressed elk skins
——— ox
——— buffalo
Bechuana axes
——— adzes
Salt
Knapsacks
Trek tows, ropes for waggons
Straps for oxen, &c.
Willow-beams
Fat
Soap
Wax
Gum
Skin-caps
Ostrich feathers
——— eggs
Umbrellas
Fans
Wheat

be obtained. I also think that Government should interfere to prevent elephants' teeth, under a certain weight, from being brought by the traders, as otherwise the supply of this article, which may, by adopting this suggestion, be made permanent and considerable, will, in the course of a few years, be lost to the colony, while it yields at present but a very inconsiderable advantage. These matters, with several others relating to this business, if Government are alive to the interests of the colony, should at once be taken into consideration; and I have no doubt, if these matters be inquired into, and the proper remedies applied,—that a large accession of capital will be made to the trade carried on with the Caffres."—Cape Paper; and some of the points have been corrected.

Papers respecting the border Fairs held at Fort Willshire and Somerset Mount :—

Prices of the chief articles bought by the traders.

Hides, from	65	to	80	buttons each.
Ivory, do.	10	—	15	per lb.
Horns, do.	2	—	4	buttons each.

Estimate of the value of the articles bartered by the Traders.

	£.	s.	d.	
Small axes	0	1	6	each.
Old Iron	0	0	2	pr. lb.
Knives	0	0	4	each.
Brasswire	0	3	4½	pr. lb.
Beads	0	15	0	pr. lb.
Buttons	0	6	0	pr. gross.

Articles brought for Sale by the Caffres and Tambookies.

Ivory	Sweet milk	Live birds
Ox hides	Curdled do.	Monkeys
Cattle	Baskets	Ostriches
Bullocks' horns	Wood	Do. eggs
Mats of rushes	Honey	Young artibeasts
Hats of do.	Caffre tobacco	Do. quaggas
Wild-beast skins	Caffre beans	Hares
Do. horns	Pumpkins	Spring bucks
Earthen pots	Water melons	Bush do.
Caffre corn	Green grass	Gum
India corn	Wooden tobacco-pipes	Sweet melons.

Abstract of returns of purchases by the Colonists at Fort Willshire fair on the frontier of the Colony, Cape of Good Hope.

Periods.	*Purchased.*			*Articles sold, &c.*					
From to 1827.	lbs. of ivory.	No. of hides.	No. of cattle.	lbs. of beads.	doz. of buttons.	lbs. of brass-wire.	No. of knives.	No. of axes.	No. of tinder-boxes.
Dec. 5. 26.	367	2112	9	347½	3892	190	9	3	10
1828.									
Jan. 2. 31.	448	3258	13	648½	5230	335	..	1	3
Feb. 6. 21.	69	953	4	201½	1692	133½	..	..	5
Mar. 5. 31.	51½	1876	13	413½	2469½	197	..	..	5
April 1. 30.	520	2589	8	445	5261	354	4	..	13
May 7. 28.	131	1525	4	182	3950	240	..	..	2
June 4. 25.	134	1194	8	197½	2222	211½	3	..	1
July 2. 30.	108	1315	4	152	3763	260½	4	2	8
Aug. 6. 27.	153½	891	2	134½	2637	179	3	10	6
Sep. 3. 24.	33	1331	7	149	3979	368	51	24	20
Oct. 1. 29.	83	1583	6	247	5089	345	251	56	34
Nov. 5. 26.	120	1945	..	262½	6186	436	219	60	107
Total.	2218	20572	78*	Total. 3380½	46373½	3249½	544	156	214

* Great reliance was placed upon the number of cattle likely to be obtained at the Caffre fairs; and some persons were apprehensive that so many would be sold, as to strip the country, and induce the Caffres to resort to plundering for a fresh supply. This result, however, compared with that of the *cattle* sales by the half colonial Griquas at Beaufort fair, shows that on this point we are not yet well acquainted with the peculiar character of the tribes.

Abstract of returns of purchases by the Colonists at Somerset-Mount Fair, on the frontier of the Colony, Cape of Good Hope.

Periods.		*Purchased.*			*Articles sold, &c.*					
From	To	lbs. of ivory.	No. of hides.	No. of cattle.	lbs. of beads.	doz. of buttons.	lbs. of brass-wire.	No. of knives.	No. of axes.	No. of tinder-boxes.
1827.										
Dec. 3.	4.	256	260	1	103	470	33½	..	..	..
1828.										
Feb. 4.	5.	264	447	..	99	384	65	..	..	..
Mar. 3.	4.	87	331	..	48½	528	40	..	..	2
May 26.	27.	26	200	..	29	500	72	..	..	..
July										
June 30.	1.	50	327	..	51	563	69	..	..	..
Sep. 22.	23.	18	171	..	27	587	41	30	3	2
Nov. 24.	25.	50	376	..	53	1167	63	40	5	25
Total		751	2112	1	Total 410½	4199	383½	70	8	29

Memorandum by the framer of this table.

" The Caffres seem to want handkerchiefs, but cannot get them at these fairs."

Another Account.

Produce of the Caffre fairs.

	lbs. ivory.	Hides.	lbs. gum.
From 18th Aug. 1824. to 12th Aug. 1825.	82,672	10,684	58,602
—— 17th Aug. 1825. to 17th Aug. 1826.	32,001	39,445	

It was an express provision by the Colonial Government, when authorising these fairs, that a certain quantity of what were considered more useful articles should

be sold by the traders. From whatever cause, the hope of the Government failed in that respect. This is a point, indeed, beyond legislative control, and to be best ensured by permitting a less fettered intercourse than now exists. That the Caffres want the things which the Government desire to be supplied to them, we have proof in the next table of the sales at a missionary station, Wesleyville, within fifty miles of Fort Willshire.

Sales at Wesleyville in Caffreland, from July 31*st to December* 1827.

Amount of sales, consisting principally of clothing for men and women, with various kinds of hardware, &c., to about 2000 rix-dollars,=150*l.*, paid for by 139 hides, 130¼lbs. ivory, 93 sambocs, 1781 cattle horns, and the remainder in cash.

From January 1*st to December* 31*st*, 1828.

Amount of sales for the year, consisting as above, about 7000 rix-dollars=525*l.*, and paid for by 520 hides principally wet,* 100lbs ivory, 300 sambocs, 7613 cattle horns, and the remainder in cash.†

* The great objection to *Caffre* hides is, that they are dried and stretched by the people, necessarily under the present general system. Such establishments as this at Wesleyville, amongst other benefits, essentially improve their export.

† At Wesleyville a small coin has been introduced by the missionaries. The Commissioners of Inquiry justly anticipated the opening wants and improvement of the Caffres, when, in their general report, they looked forward to the introduction of a metallic currency among that people.

The articles at the African fairs in the north, as noticed by Burckhardt, (Nubia, p. 398.) illustrate the character of the natives as indicated by the foregoing tables; and there seems reason to think the distinction of the African races quite immaterial in regard to their becoming civilised.

"On the sands behind the village a market is held once a week, which is frequented by great numbers of Bedouins and country people.

"The following are the articles brought to market by the country people, besides cattle:

"Mats and baskets, of reeds and of the leaves of the doum-tree, earthen pots for cooking, and for ablution: all the negroes and other poor pilgrims carry one of them for their daily ablutions;—camel saddles; ropes made of reeds; hides; water-skins; a few fowls; dried camels' flesh; butter was not to be procured, the flocks being at a distance; Allobe and Nebek fruits, of the latter of which jelly is made; Tama or Basinya, a bitter bark for fevers and dysentery; gum-arabic; gharab, the seed of the acacia, for tanning; salt brought from the Red Sea; black ostrich feathers.

"Some blacksmiths attended the fair to mend knives, lance-heads, or the camel chains. They bought tobacco; snuff, which they carry in small gourds of the size of an egg, and take from the nail, not in pinches; natron; spices; incense; beads, and hardware; dhourra, or grain."

To the same purpose narratives of Bowdich, Park, and Denham, p. 331. may be consulted with advantage.

Facilities for white men settling in Caffreland would,

at no distant period, follow the firm establishment of safe principles of intercourse. In that case the capital in horned cattle, now possessed by the Caffres, would soon be converted into its real value; to say nothing of fine woolled sheep to be introduced hereafter. They would soon learn from their better-informed neighbours that this is an inexhaustible fund, from which an export can be created with but a simple addition to their present stock of knowledge. The raw and manufactured produce of cattle from Algoa Bay in 1828 was as follows, estimated at the Custom-House value:

	£
Butter*	8114
Cheese	125
Candles	211
Tallow	1734
Salted Beef . . .	6415
Hides	12804
Leather	772
Horns	1914
	32,089.

* The butter is understood to be consumed at Cape Town, and it deserves consideration that the demand of all these articles is not likely to fluctuate very considerably; as, for example, the English market alone takes annually perhaps £800,000 worth of hides; nearly the amount of one million sterling in tallow—£300,000 worth of butter. The respectable managers of the missionary concerns in Caffreland might probably find the produce of flax and linseed desirable to their people, who already prepare much grain for sale. The steady demand in England for these seeds may be put at one million and a half of

The Caffres, west of the Bashie, possess, we believe, about 360,000 head of cattle; and they are well known to be anxious to improve the breed, and to be careful not to waste their property. There is every probability that a change of customs will gradually take place, through the desire that will be exerted to possess our dress and other conveniences. The means of purchasing these will be seen to exist in converting the produce of the herds into an exportable commodity; and a commensurate importation of British manufactures will take place.

At a very early period indeed, their *present* exports will be increased in value by increased knowledge, and by facilities to be derived from local stores. The sale of hides is steadily extending, but they are generally dry for convenience of transport, and because salt is not abundant in the country, although easy to be obtained from the neigbourhood. The wet hides are understood to be much beyond the value of the others; and by reference to the table of sales above, at the fixed store at Wesleyville, it will be seen that the change is going on, where circumstances admit of it. Of course the prudent multiplication of such stores would vastly augment this resource of the Caffre proprietor.

The proclaimed* object of the Government is to en-

bushels, worth there 5*s.* per bushel. The import of bark at the rate of one million lbs. yearly, worth 4*s.* per lb. seems to point out another article of raw produce deserving the Caffres' attention.

* See Proclamation as to the Beaufort Fair above; and that for the Caffre fairs, which ordered the traders to pay part in beads, &c. and part in goods of more useful kinds:—an injunction, I believe, never obeyed. The cause deserves inquiry.

courage the sale of useful articles to the native people. The returns prove that fairs alone do not effect this wise purpose, as stores would do, with increased facilities for intercourse, and for just settlement amongst the native people. It need scarcely, therefore, be urged that common sense requires the Government to review the means it has authorised to little advantage for gaining ends which all men respect. Some steps are suggested hereafter.

It seems reasonable to consider the increasing produce from Caffreland, and the eager resort commenced to the Beaufort fair under its numerous inconveniences, as proofs of the tendency of the native tribes towards civilised habits. The actual progress of Hottentots, where favorably situated, is an absolute demonstration of their capacity to fill well various posts in active contact in trade with white people; and it is not a very violent conclusion that, as their general circumstances improve, they will not fail in exhibiting the qualities essential to their ultimate success and safety.

In the case of the Hottentots, some facility was afforded by the access they previously had to the civilised colonists; an advantage qualified, however, by the distaste their sufferings gave them to our modes of life. But as we go northward, the people are no longer mere herdsmen. They are advanced several steps by exercising various trades at home, as well as by carrying on commerce to distant tribes. Preparation is made for the eager reception of our adventurers, and for steady improvement, which increased knowledge will enable the artisans we may visit, to introduce into their present methods of collecting raw produce.

The following interesting notice of the northern inte-

rior beyond the Cape settlement appeared in a Cape Town newspaper in 1826; and the writer is understood to have prepared voluminous materials for publication on the trade beyond the colony:

"The Bawanketz are a great commercial people for semi-barbarians, and their country is said to abound in ivory; *they are also very anxious to cultivate a trading intercourse with Europeans; and it is to this people, in the first instance, that the writer of the present notice refers, in recommending the attention of the enterprising merchant. Beads, buttons, and knives, are the great articles in request, and even dogs, which are scarce, have been known to fetch 50lbs. of ivory each.*

"The extensive power of Makaba arrested the attention of the missionaries at the Kuruman to attempt a friendly communication with the Chief, in order to open a new and wider field for the dispersion of Christianity in the interior; and in the month of June 1824, Mr. Moffat and a small party succeeded in reaching Makaba's dominion, and rescuing the character of a native chief from the disgrace so unjustly attached to it. On his entrance within the territory of this prince, as no recommendatory circumstance, their cattle were stolen by a party of the natives, and they found some difficulty in pursuing their journey to Melita: their arrival was, however, hailed by Makaba in the most rapturous manner, and he expressed himself delighted, that white men had at last dared, in the face of odium and reproach, at the apparent danger of their lives, 'to visit the rogue, the murderer, and cannibal Makaba.' The depredators who had taken the missionaries' cattle were, immediately

on his being made acquainted with the circumstance, sent for, and it was with the greatest difficulty that, by earnest intercession, their lives were spared. The day of the entrance into town is described as one of peculiar and deep interest. Thousands of its inhabitants poured out to receive kindly, but vociferously, the messengers of peace and European intercourse, pressing round the waggons to catch a glimpse of the undaunted travellers almost to annoyance, although without insult; and the presence of the chief alone controlled their importunate anxiety. On his arrival at the spot where the waggons had halted, he called out several of his chiefs, and gave the strangers into their charge, publicly declaring that their lives were answerable for the safety of his visitors; and they were bound to see their wants well and fully supplied. On the succeeding day the missionary returned the visit of the king, who expressed his admiration at his courage, in coming to him unarmed, which Mr Moffat took care to explain and show was actually the case. Makaba was then anxious to see a part of the expedition on horseback—a request immediately complied with; and when one of the party drew a pistol from his breast and discharged it, the astonishment of the chief and his people, at such a small weapon possessing the power of destruction, was unbounded. So gratified was this barbarian king, and elated by becoming at last acquainted with the white people, that on their expressing a wish to ride round the city, he made them inspann their waggons, and told them if any house or hedge stood in the way, to disregard the obstruction and drive over them.

"Ignorant, as might be supposed, of missionary views,

trade was suspected to be the great motive of this visit and display of fearless intrepidity; and much disappointment was evinced when the travellers declared they had brought no beads beyond a small supply for presents; a few bargains were, however, struck by the Griqua attendants, and ivory could have been procured in very large quantities, had that been the object of the visitors. The moisture of the country being favourable to the growth of forests, elephants are very numerous in this and the neighbouring countries; and as the natives devote much of their time to the destruction of this animal, it is supposed the ivory procured by their huntings, reaches the Portuguese traders on the eastern coast, as it is from that quarter they procure their beads by the medium of itinerant traders of various tribes.*

" To the north-eastward of this people are situated the Bamorutzi, visited by Campbell in 1821, whose description is stated on the whole to be a faithful account of that tribe; their progress in civilisation is evidently superior to that of their more southern neighbours. Besides the hordes already mentioned, the native travellers, some of whom have reached the vicinity of the eastern coast, describe a multitude of others whose names alone are at present known: to the north-east of the Morutzi lie the Baquin, supposed about the 26th parallel and meridian, the great smelters and manufacturers of metal—the Bahamangerato, the Bahalacili, and next to these the ferocious mixed race of Bastard Portuguese, inhabiting a long belt of coast, the terror and scourge of the

* In a posthumous work of Mr. Bowdich, it is stated on the authority of Portuguese manuscripts, that ivory reaches Mozambique from the Orange River. See below, p. 139.

more interior tribes, whom they plunder and enslave. To the westward of the tribes just noticed, lie innumerable others, of whom little is known, among which the Bakalliharri is the nearest and most powerful; but on this side the intervention of immense deserts, nearly impassable for want of water, has hitherto bounded the limit of discovery. The route from Litakung to Melita, the capital of the Bawanketz, is stated to be for the first few days excessively arid, but suddenly becomes rich, picturesque, and abundantly watered; the rivers turn off to the eastward,* the country swells into mountainous ranges running, north and south, most probably connected with the great chain commencing at the Cape Peninsula, and passing through the colony nearly parallel by the coast, under the varied names of the Black, Snowy, Winter, and Stormy Mountains, and thence ends off in a line with the eastern shores. This extensive buttress supports the great and elevated plains of the interior, giving their respective directions to the innumerable streams of which it is the source, according to which side of the range they may receive their origin. Extensive forests of thorn-trees, inhabited by the elephant and giraffee, cover the level lands, while the sides and summits of the great elevations are clothed with a variety of timber, indicative of a superior climate and more prolific soil."

The following passage from a book called "Discoveries of the Portuguese in the interior of Angola and Mozambique, from original Mss. by T. E. Bowdich," published in 1824, page 107. shews how near we are to a considerable interior trade at the north:

* Probably supplying the Delagoa and Natal Rivers.

" To Zumbo is brought not only the principal part of the gold of the rich mines of Abutua,* which are 120 leagues distant to the westward in the territory of the Changamera, but also that from the mines of Pemba and Murusura; and what seems more extraordinary, considerable quantities of *ivory come hither from the Orange River*. Besides these valuable articles of commerce, the horns of the rhinoceros are also met with in great numbers in the market of Zumbo. In this part of the interior the climate is very mild and salubrious, but the resident Portuguese mulattoes are very unprincipled, and what is worse, if Andrade is to be credited, they are countenanced in their criminal and rapacious conduct by the missionaries, who share in their spoils. There are copper and iron mines near Zumbo, *also beds of coal*, various kinds of chrystals, and an abundance of excellent timber.

" The author last quoted observes† that there can be no doubt of the existence of the silver mines of Chicova; and that they are very rich, he says, is proved by the massive lamps contained in the churches near that settlement. It appears from a manuscript record, that Diego de Conti, between the years 1560 and 1570, made a series of experiments at Mozambique on specimens of silver ore brought from Chicova by Vasco F. Homem; and the general result was, that the ore contained two parts of silver to one of sandy stone. Small bars of gold are still brought from the interior of Tete. At this place corn is cultivated to great advantage, and 6000 Portuguese

* Probably within 700 miles of Lattakoo.

† Note, p. 104. Jeronimo Jose Nogucira de Andrade.

bushels are annually exported from thence, but about one-half of that quantity is obtained from the Maravis, who raise it for sale, and who manufacture their own spades, which they make of the iron found in their country. Sugar is also cultivated at Tete, the cane being indigenous, and so abundant, that the sixteen families who were occupied in this branch of trade in the year 1806, made 115 arrobas, or about 3300 weight of white sugar, and 569 arrobas, or upwards of 160 hundred weight of brown sugar. Coffee, cotton, and indigo, which last is the most common of all the plants, are also natives of this country. Tobacco and rice are cultivated in greater quantities at Quilimane, but those of Sena are of a better quality. Cassava is abundant, but it grows wild, and is not an article of culture, as cabbages, lettuces, spinach, pease, beans, yams, and potatoes are; as well as several plants which produce oil, particularly the ricinus. There are also reared here, both for immediate and commercial purposes, a variety of medicinal plants, such as rhubarb, jalap, and senna, and others that are used in dying. The wild bees afford large quantities of honey and wax; besides which articles, the oil and the tusks of the hippopotamus are collected here for exportation. Copper is plentifully supplied from Moviza, Zumbo, and Inhambane. Though salt-petre abounds in the crown lands, it is neglected. These lands, in Tete, Senna, and Quilimane, produced in 1806 a yearly revenue of 2,900,000 reis, since which thirteen other districts have been added by conquest; ten were taken from the Jazora or queen of a territory in the Maravi country, north of the Cuama; and one from the chief of Beve, who, as well as the former, had given offence by

harbouring fugitive slaves. These new lands, which are exceedingly fertile, have been partitioned out among different families, who pay for them an annual rent to the crown. The Portuguese population and influence have been farther increased in this part of the interior, by a grant of lands to every native woman who marries a Portuguese. All that part of the country bordering on the river Zambeze is rendered very healthy by a refreshing wind which blows daily from the south, so that the only malady of moment prevailing here is an intermittent fever. In 1806 there were not above 500 free residents professing the Christian religion in Quilimane, Tete, Senna, Zumbo, and Manica; while, on the other hand, there were 10,867 fugitive slaves, and 10,960 natives who were born in slavery. This country possesses numerous sources of trade, and the Cuama, Shireis, Reizigo, and Arvanha rivers, afford ample and noble means for the extension of inland navigation."

The disposition of these Africans to trade with the Europeans is further illustrated by information in the same work, as in p. 99.

"An envoy from a native chief stated to the Portuguese authorities at Tete,* that he had been sent on this mission to procure information respecting what wrongs the Portuguese and native traders had suffered from the intermediate tribes; also to propose a plan for clearing the passage at their mutual expense; to express a desire that a factory should be established on the Rooanga River; and to recommend that traders in future should only travel in large bodies."

* The Portuguese south of Tete are not further from Lattakoo, than Lattakoo from Cape Town.

From a pamphlet published at Rio de Janeiro in 1829 by a Portuguese officer, the authorities in Mozambique are strongly charged with encouraging the slave trade to a late date. But as the time is fast approaching when that commerce will be extinguished at sea, it is of great importance to promote proper substitutes for it upon the continent.

Postlethwaite enumerates their exports to have been slaves, gold dust, ivory, gums of the richest kind, ostrich feathers, bees-wax; drugs, as senna, aloes, Guinea grain, civet, ambergris, incense, frankincense, &c.; but the Portuguese eastern trade has long greatly declined.

Salt's narrative of their imprudent wars with the natives sufficiently accounts for the decline of the internal trade; and Bowdich has produced proof that the natives are far from being adverse to a reasonable intercourse with them.

In 1724, it was ascertained that copper* amongst other metals was worked not far west from Delagoa Bay into *little bars*, for sale. Mr. Campbell and other travellers have lately visited a country† in that direction, where such work is doing now. The most recent visitor states that his party saw a smith at work; and that the metal was already prepared for *his use, having been hammered into small short and square bars*, melted in the interior from the ore, and reduced to this shape for the greater convenience of the workmen; and thus better adapted to the native means of transport."‡

* The richness of the African copper is noticed in a Parliamentary Report on a colony proposed to be sent to Cape Voltas. —Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 40. p. 954. A.D. 1785.

† The Marootzes, or Baharootzes. ‡ See Appendix, No. 1.

These people, or others with similar acquirements, we find to have convenient access to the colony, since numbers have come into Caffreland, qualified to teach the fusing of metals. In 1824, the missionaries learned that fugitives from disturbed tribes behind Delagoa Bay, had commenced smelting iron from the native ore among Hinga's people. And "it appeared," says the same account, "that copper was abundant in the (adjoining) country of the Mampondas."

These statements seem to show that private trading will continue sufficiently profitable to attract increasing attention from white people, and that the coloured race will share its advantages, although commerce carried on at the public cost may have failed.

The unsuitableness of the latter course to South Africa is proved in the history of a trial made by no careless merchants, and under circumstances peculiarly favourable. A Dutch settlement at Delagoa Bay was founded in 1721. At the arrival of the party, the natives were friendly. They had known Europeans and Arabs for centuries; and some of them understood the Portuguese language. They supplied the party with milk, eggs, plantains, pine-apples, sugar-cane, vegetables, and one goat. After a trial of about fifteen years, the settlement was broken up, apparently because the returns were not equal to its charges and risks. An account of it taken from official reports will be found in the Appendix No. 1., and the following table of exports was framed from the same reports, and probably gives the productions with sufficient exactness to show the uselessness of an establishment of nearly one hundred people, if devoted to no other purpose than trading:

Years.	1. Ivory. lbs.	2. Tin. lbs.	3. Slaves.	4. Aloes.	5. Gold-dust. marks.	6. Ambergris. lbs.	7. Honey.	8. Copper. lbs.	9. Rice.
1721.	1010								
1724.	10,877		13			9		590	
1725.	9647		110			10			
1726.	2897		17					319	
1727.	9852		16	264	87	2	½ aum.		
1728.	6826	211	40	155		5	2 tubs.		30,000
1729.	8965	173	92		12	3			

Besides these proceeds, some cargoes probably went away by Batavia; and some were *perhaps* collected by a few private adventurers, who seem to have been admitted at the factory. The papers could not be examined with sufficient minuteness for certainty on these points.

(2.) Tin. It has been supposed that tin does not exist in South Africa. In 2 Lichtenstein, it is stated that the Bechuana rings were ascertained by Professor Klaproth to contain 7 parts in 100 of tin, the remainder being copper; and the tin was thought to be obtained from the Portuguese. It is now however known that a people to the east of the Bechuanas manufacture such rings, and many other things made of copper, whitened by a mixture of some metal which renders them brittle. In 1721, the Dutch ascertained copper to be worked a few days west of Delagoa. Recent travellers find that the use of alloys is familiar to the smiths of the interior, and the natives obtain a white substance from the earth, which they mix in small quantities with large pieces of copper.

In considering of the resources of the country, these points seem to be worth further examination.

(4.) Three sorts of aloes were exported.

(5.) The purity of the gold-dust seems to be doubted in one of the despatches from Amsterdam; and the quantity obtained was small.

Plantations were made of the better sorts of indigo; and much was found wild, as in more southerly parts of Africa. Wood also was sent to the Cape; and amongst other kinds, the wagen boom; whose locality is a point of interest. Coral and chrystal seem also to have been sent away in considerable quantities.

This account of exports, and the history of the settlement during several years, will probably be thought sufficient proofs that other objects besides the present trade must be sought, as the motives for the exertions required. It is surely, however, not visionary to consider that the improvement of the native people, and the future opening to be made for general trade, will constitute such motives, to justify His Majesty's Government in following up the obvious means of ensuring that improvement.

In the mean time private individuals will enjoy a success, calculated to compensate them for the restraints necessary for the protection of the native people.

The error of the Dutch Company was that they limited their efforts in favor of the tribes to a sentence in their instructions to the local authorities. The law of 1636 was to them really a dead letter; but with the benefit of their experience, and under better auspices, the view afterwards entertained of what might be done with the native trade, is well expressed by Major Bouchenroeder:

"By wise measures and institutions much advantage

may be derived from the neighbouring aborigines ;—for instance, the Caffres, from whom cattle, hides, ivory, may be obtained, when their chiefs shall be induced to act in concert with the colony ; and probably also wool, coffee, cotton, and other articles, when they are provided with a breed of good sheep, and are instructed in the management of such produce ; which hereafter may be bartered for the manufactures they may require.

"There might farther be obtained from the Bricquas, ivory, copper, iron and steel ; from the Tambookies, Soffala, and Mosambique ivory and gold ; while the scattered kraals of Hottentots and Bosjesman might be collected into permanent homes, be provided with cattle and useful implements, and taught agriculture and regular cattle breeding. They would soon be fond of such pursuits ; and not only would all the inhabitants within the colony be fond of them, but numbers beyond it would thus be stimulated to useful occupations. By these means idleness and want, which usually lead to the disquiet, robberies, and murders upon our borders, would be banished."—Major Bouchenroeder's Travels in South Africa in 1803, p. 212. Amsterdam, 1806.

Postlethwaite had already urged the propriety of seeking the civilisation of Africa through the improvement of her trade and resources. Dictionary : article Africa. A. D. 1774. and in the Preface.

In regard to South Eastern Africa, he says :—

"The cinnamon of Ceylon, the tea of China and Japan, and the coffee of Mocha would all be produced, from the Rio de St. Esprit, and southward to the river Natal ; a temperate, fertile, healthy, and manageable soil ;" and he asks, "whether, instead of making slaves of the Africans, it would not rather become nations that

assume the name and character of Christians, to give them a relish for the blessings of life, by extending traffic into their country in the largest degree it will admit of, and introducing among them the more civilised arts and customs?"—and thus concludes a sensible article upon Africa: "We must at present take the state of the trade as it stands, and men as they now are: these hints may possibly, some time or other, rouse some noble and benevolent Christian spirit to think of changing the whole system of the African trade, which, as things are *now circumstanced*, may not be so easily brought about."

The Committee of the House of Commons, who, in 1785, recommended a convict colony to be established on the *south-west* coast between Angola and the Orange River, overlooked the rights and interests of the native tribes; although it distinctly admitted their friendly dispositions towards white people.* Happily that project was not adopted. The Committee enlarge upon the healthiness of the south, and upon its productions. Major Bouchenroeder's information on the same subject seems to have been considerable: and whilst his anticipations have been realised in many points, it seems safe to foretell that even more than he ventured to speculate upon, will gradually follow such commercial and improving measures as he contemplates. "The history of all modern commerce proves that, wherever a free scope is given to capital, to industry, to the stirring intelligence, and active spirit of adventure, which so strongly mark the present times, you are in fact open-

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 40. p. 954. 1785.

ing new roads to enterprize, and affording new facilities to the interchange of the productions of different regions of the earth ;—that interchange whose advantages must be reciprocal, and *its extension to new countries perhaps the surest harbinger of their improvement and civilization.*" *

* Mr. Huskisson's speech on Free Trade.

CHAPTER V.

4.—*Political Intercourse duly kept up.*

Political intercourse with the native tribes near us is obviously an important means of civilizing them, as well as essential to the preservation of peace; and it is so plainly an object in promoting which the Government ought to take the lead, that our neglect of it cannot but appear surprising. Common sense dictates that evils which are now frequent, should be sought to be avoided by our at least becoming acquainted with the circumstances which produce them; and there is nothing unreasonable in the call for a clear-sighted, vigorous philanthropy towards others, when it will open various sources of profit to ourselves. The apathy of the Cape government may therefore justly be condemned. Long experience proved separations from our neighbours to be fruitful of expensive contests, and that system is abandoned. The "savage" who told Governor Janssens that "there could be no true peace, if people might not have intercourse with each other," is now admitted to have been in the right. But it is essential even to peace, to go beyond merely permitting intercourse; we must be active in assisting the native people to bear it. The liberty of trading with our neighbours,

and of employing free laborers from among them, will bring interests and passions into more close collision; the ordinary consequence of which must be checked on both sides upon fixed principles adapted to meet difficulties, which such a state of things cannot fail to produce. In order to preserve peace at moderate cost, and more especially to fulfil the higher duties incumbent upon Great Britain, *political* intercourse must be had with the interior. Activity is also not only indispensable if we would do right, but inevitable under any circumstances; and we have but to elect between a better and a worse mode of activity;—a better, which will civilize the barbarians; a worse, now in force, which will crush, brutalise, and destroy them. The unceasing feuds amongst the native people (as amongst our own ancestors) produce disturbances far beyond the immediate scenes of conflict; and we have now a frontier of seven hundred miles in direct contact with populous countries never at rest. This has been felt in the last two years with no little inconvenience at the Cape:—proving that, whilst our course is fatal to the tribes our neighbours, it is abundantly injurious to ourselves.

In 1827, the cost incurred by a blind defence against the movements of north-eastern tribes, apparently pressed out from home by more powerful invaders, cannot be estimated at less than 200,000 rix-dollars. Several hundred inhabitants of the eastern districts were assembled during some weeks; and the regular troops were increased by a prompt embarkation of a regiment from Cape Town, with the proper military supplies; whilst the Governor himself hurried to the frontier.

In 1828, troops were again marched into Caffreland

to meet an imaginary irruption, which was thought much more formidable than that of the former year; and more than 1000 inhabitants were assembled with them, including men from their farms 300 miles off; and all were taken 250 miles beyond the boundaries, being absent from their homes during more than eight weeks, without finding an *enemy*;—a mode of defence surely inferior to any course likely to lessen the disturbances in the interior by civilising the people.

But a remarkable evil to which we are exposed in the present system deserves special consideration. It is *the evil of being unacquainted with the real state of things we are guarding against*; which is obviously attributable to our political non-intercourse with the natives. By this we deny ourselves the means of knowing where and what our supposed enemy is, even whilst we refuse to know him for a friend; and strange and unfortunate mistakes and miscalculations spring from it. Those of 1817 and 1819 will be noticed in the civil narrative in the Appendix; and it may be fairly supposed that the inveterate nature of the system not yet cured, could alone have permitted a parallel event in 1828.

This year's campaign opened with the above-mentioned march into Caffre land; and in a few weeks its supposed conclusion was announced in the following notice, which only another post proved to be founded in an absolute mistake. Instead of the *enemy* being induced to retreat, it was soon said, with an equal error, that one of his detachments, not his main army, had been vanquished. Our dispersed and retiring troops were consequently

to be again collected, and were in fact again marched to encounter him. The succession of blunders would be incredible, if documentary proof could not be produced of them, as follows:—

"*Government Notice.*"

"Advices have been received from Major Dundas, dated Camp on the Kaay River, the 1st inst. from which it appears that the Tambookies, under the Chief Vossanie, had moved forward to meet the invading forces of Chaka, and having attacked them on the 26th ult. between the Bashee and Umtata Rivers, had completely routed them. The invaders fled in the greatest confusion, leaving in the hands of the Tambookies an immense quantity of cattle, which had been plundered from the neighbouring tribes. Major Dundas, with a small escort of armed inhabitants from Albany, was present and took part in the affair.

"Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, who had formed a camp near the Kaay River, where he was joined by Gaika and other Caffre chiefs with their forces, was about to return to Fort Beaufort. The armed inhabitants who had been called out, have returned to their homes.—

(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Acting Secretary to Government."

11th August, 1828.

Except that some fighting did take place to our advantage, the whole of this statement proved to be erroneous; and upon its being discovered (as was believed, but again erroneously) that "the invading forces" of

Chaka had not been dispersed, our little army again advanced to his supposed position, upon which the Gazettes made the following announcements:

"*Government Notice.*"

"Advices have been received from Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, dated the 18th instant, from the Goua River, near Hinza's Kraal, by which it appears that at the pressing request of Hinza and Vossanie, Lieut.-Colonel Somerset proceeded with a strong patrole to the Goua, which he reached on the 15th inst. He was there informed that the Zoolahs had plundered the frontier country of the Tambookies near the Bashee River, having pushed their advanced parties beyond it; and that their main body, which occupied a position a short distance behind the Bashee, had been lately reinforced.

"Hinza and Vossanie were assembling their forces, and Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset intended to be on the Bashee on the 21st instant.—28th August 1828."

"*Government Notice.*"

"Advices have been received from Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, dated on the Bashee River, the 23d August, up to which day nothing of importance had occurred. Patroles had been sent across the river to reconnoitre the position of the *Zoolahs, who were said* to be in force in the neighbourhood.—4th Sept. 1828."

The next notice gives up *the Zoolahs*, who in fact had never been near our army.

"*Government Notice.*"

"Advices have been received from Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, dated on the Bashee River, the 26th and 29th ultimo, and from Graham's Town the 3d and 5th inst. by which it appears that, on the morning of the 27th of August, after repeated and fruitless endeavours to hold a parley, by means of an interpreter, with the forces of the tribe which had invaded and were advancing through the Tambookie country, the party that escorted the interpreter was suddenly attacked, and in consequence of a determined attempt being made to surround them, an action was unavoidably brought on, which lasted for several hours, and terminated in the defeat and retreat of the invaders.

"The troops under Lieut.-Colonel Somerset sustained no loss; that of the *invaders*, whose force was estimated at upwards of 20,000 men, has not been stated.

"The Caffre and Tambookie forces were present, but do not appear to have been engaged. The troops and armed inhabitants were returning to the colony, with the exception of a small detachment of the regular forces, which was left in advance on the Kaay River.—Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 11th Sept. 1828."

This mistake in military calculation, which produced the first disbanding of our forces, is sufficiently important to demand inquiry; but in these affairs far more serious errors prove to have been committed. The people defeated in these actions are discovered not to be "the invaders" whom we had hitherto sought; and it is probable we cannot justify the slaughter that took place. The nature of the actions itself may be judged

of better from the following narrations than from the official account.

"The troops on leaving the Kaay proceeded direct to the Bashee. A reconnoitring party was pushed on from thence on the 23d. The following day the whole body marched to the Boukie about fourteen miles. They halted on the 25th. On the 26th they manœuvred over and round the hills for several hours without seeing an enemy; bivouacked till nine in the evening, when they were again in motion towards the Umtata; where the enemy, as the Ficani are called, were discovered. They had taken possession of that part of the country; had constructed huts; and were actually located, having with them their women and children. At day-light on the 27th, our troops, boors, Hottentots, and about 15,000 Caffres, were formed in order of battle.

"The Maccesas (for they proved not to be of Chaka's tribe, nor connected with him) were drawn up, 20,000 in number as is reported, to protect their kraals. An officer of the Cape corps was sent with a troop and an interpreter to procure a parley, but he was attacked. Orders were then given for our musketry to fire upon them, and great numbers fell. The guns were brought into action, which caused terrible havoc. They stood the carnage for five hours, and then retreated to the mountains, leaving, as is calculated, 1500 dead on the field. Our loss was of the most trifling description; not a man being killed. The Caffres behaved with the most savage barbarity after the action; butchering the wounded; taking infants by the heels, and dashing their brains out; and were actually detected in ripping up

women with child, and cutting off their breasts. Our soldiers, disgusted with such monstrous brutality, fired into the Caffres, and killed several before they desisted from such blood-thirsty work . . . .

" A few men, and numbers of women and children, fell into our hands. Many have requested our protection, being afraid to remain, as the Caffres would kill them. I hear the boors have taken several to the colony, and the remainder were escorted by a party of cavalry into the track of the dispersed Maceesas. Their cattle were captured, and they were left in a deplorable state."

Another account is as follows :—

" The Hottentots who were on commando speak of the affair with horror. The Tambookies led the troops about from place to place in pursuit of the alledged enemy, and found them the day before the fatal period, that will long be remembered. The day before, Vosanie, Hinza, Taloosa, and Bookie, were informed that no women or children were to be killed. In the morning of the 27th they advanced, surrounded the town, and commenced firing without any sufficient warning, and continued till after mid-day.

" A dreadful havoc was made: the poor people seemed to be panic-struck, and at first made no resistance, but sat down before the guns.

" The chief at last came from the enemy to know the reason of the attack. We then retired, leaving the enemy unconquered; and no peace was made. The Caffres and Tambookies did not fight; but taking advantage of the confusion, fell upon the women and children in the most inhuman manner imaginable, so that the troops and the Hottentots had to fire upon them to

make them desist. The Hottentots say the slaughter was awful. They state that the people were in their houses, with gardens and cattle kraals in the place. They were first driven from their houses by Chaca several years ago; then repelled by the Griquas about two years since; and twice they had sought for a place of rest. The Tambookies, they assert, first attacked them without provocation.

"The Hottentots consider that two great errors have been committed: 1st, in having been led away by loose rumours, not properly sifted and followed up.

"2dly, In not having ascertained who was in fault, the Tambookies whom we assisted, or the people whom we attacked, and whether the dispute could not be adjusted without shedding blood."

Another account states:

"The number of killed of the Maceesas is estimated variously from 400 to 1500. It appears that Chaka has not moved a foot from his own country;* and it is generally believed that the Maceesas are the people called Mantatees or Ficani (strangers), who made their appearance on the Orange River last year. They had been settled where we found them nearly a year, had built several kraals, and had no design of penetrating farther.

"They were surprised by us on the 27th coming out of their huts; and when the fire opened upon them, their astonishment was so great, that in their ignorance they inquired, saying, what sort of weather is this? Twenty-two women and upwards of thirty children have been conducted to Fort Willshire. They remained on the

* He had attacked the Amapoudas, but suspended his proceedings till his *messengers sent to the Cape by sea*, should communicate with the Governor.

field after the slaughter, and craved protection against the Tambookies. They speak the Caffre language."

The horrors of these scenes find no palliative in the necessity for them. The errors so often repeated are without parallel in the history of any wars, and they indicate an origin in the imprudent manner in which we are acting in South Africa.

The sufferings of the native tribes from each other, and the great probability that we might much alleviate them, being laid out of consideration, our own interests can clearly be promoted by a prudent interference in their affairs; inasmuch as, by becoming acquainted with their facts, we shall be in a condition to be ourselves more safe from perpetually recurring disquiet and expense. It is plain that the unfounded anticipations indulged, and the military errors committed in 1817, 1819, and 1828 (amongst other years), arose from our want of that knowledge of the enemy, and from his want of knowledge of us, which political intercourse would give.

This last case is now the most interesting, and it abounds in circumstances which illustrate the purpose of these notes. The Governor of the colony felt the propriety of communicating with the *enemy* before fighting him, even in justifiable defence of our neighbours against his supposed invasion. A communication was attempted, and the failure of the mission of Major Dundas, with the other suprising events, may be considered as natural fruits of the old system, which leaves opposed parties mutually in the dark. The most experienced officers are utterly ignorant of the obvious means of executing their duty, and make no scruple of sacrificing human beings without offence and on mere conjecture. Although the country from Lattakoo to Natal has been

thronged with the disturbed tribes these five years past, and Chaca has been roving about for a longer period at the head of 20 or 30,000 men, subduing all his neighbours near us, we reject ready means of various kinds, of being safe from alarm and probable confusion on the frontier, if not danger. If the Governor of the colony gave orders to fight, which were so peremptory that the actual commanders were compelled to obey them, the fault would be confined to him; and the fact ought to be known and placed to the proper account.

On his side this *enemy* is equally ignorant of us, with this remarkable difference, that he is anxious to improve his condition by our acquaintance and example; whilst we, a nation of philanthropists in regard to Africa, will not look beyond our borders to benefit him.

It is impossible to describe a person better disposed towards the native people than Major General Bourke, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. His benevolent intentions are proved substantially by his public acts, which have been carried in several points to the full extent of the powers apparently entrusted to him.*

Yet although he, with the whole public, has for years known the state of things to the north-east, which led to

* His general conduct to the missionaries is understood to have been exemplary; and the writer can testify personally of the zeal with which he supported the Hottentots of Paealtsdorp against the oppressions in 1826 and 1827. In regard to the new laws of 1828, the 49th and 50th ordinances of the Cape, if they are imperfect, General Bourke has given in the one a sort of Magna Charta to the Hottentots; and in the other has opened the way to the interior, which needs but to be pursued with wisdom to ensure great prospects to South Africa, and perhaps the whole continent.

the campaigns of 1827 and 1828, and the means of averting were not difficult, he seems to have been fettered, and unable to act upon what must have been his personal conviction of propriety. The enterprise of a few individuals, Mr. Farewell and others, at Natal had proved how well one able native chief, Chaca, appreciated some of the fruits of civilisation ; yet we threw away the advantages which his sentiments and ambition afforded for its extensions.

Expensive embassies are not needed for the wild people of South Africa ; nor is a sudden change to be expected in their habits. But communication may be opened at the instance of Government with considerable promise. It is probable that perseverance will be rewarded by the improvement of the civil condition of the native people, which the exertions of ministers of religion with proper support, and the enterprise of private traders with proper restraints, will hasten. If some cost must be incurred for these objects, it will be productive ; whereas even success on the old system of exclusion, and the present one of inactivity, must be unprofitable. At an early period, after such a course is begun, the irruptions lately so troublesome to the colony would much subside ; and at the least it would cease to be necessary to raise the whole eastern country to meet supposed dangers, which could be calculated with more exactness, upon the better acquaintance we should then have of facts. By not imprudently trenching upon the rights of the chiefs, their confidence would be secured ; and a new direction might be given to their ambition. Upon the Cape frontier now they have the same desire to communicate

with us, which has been observable at all our approaches to wild people in every part of the world; for there are but very few points in which the state of things in South Africa differs from that existing elsewhere. That desire gratified "with sufficient guard," and not succeeded by the old career of violences unavenged and uncompensated, and by the usual consequence—undistinguishing bloodshed—they would perceive that, by acquiring knowledge, their present power was only to be changed for a new authority over improving people; the uselessness of contending with us being also perceived from their knowledge of our overwhelming resources;—and there would exist no motives for dislike, if we abstained from drawing other gain from them than what free trade affords.

It has, however, been thought that to civilise the native tribes will enable them to overrun the colony; and it is plausibly argued that the first duty being self-preservation, the Government will not do right to bring the public safety into peril, for the expectation of civilising strangers.

The objection assumes that the combined natives will attack us; to which experience and reason are equally opposed. For experience, we have the eastern Hottentots within the colony, who have given remarkable proof upon this point. They were notoriously connected with Caffres; and it was part of the public policy to withdraw them from the frontiers, because, as was thought, they would combine with that people against us. The opinion was always resisted by Dr. Vander Kemp and his fellow missionaries, and by some civil

officers of merit, who are proved to have been right after a long trial in various difficult circumstances. The injuries suffered by Hottentots had been far greater and of longer duration, than those likely to be inflicted upon the other people, if not destroyed; yet, during a quarter of a century, rescued and improving Hottentots have been as faithful to us in war, as, contrary to much stronger predictions of their unconquerable sloth, they have become industrious in peace. Similar experience to some extent has been had with the Caffres, since a new policy was pursued towards them. In two successive years of great disturbance from without, they have been true to their recent engagements with us; and that against colored men, with whom it is urged they will at once unite to our ruin. It is in reality probable, that as we produce favorable impressions upon one tribe after another, the more civilised will find an obvious interest in supporting our views, so long as we continue just; which the new system presupposes we shall not fail to be. Undoubtedly, in order to succeed, we must be just at every step, and treat the people like rational beings. Instead of combining with the less civilised beyond them to destroy the source of so many comforts as we alone can give, the only real danger appears to consist in the designs which some of the improved may entertain against the less fortunate people in the interior, either by committing violences against them, or by otherwise impeding beneficial communication further. Unprincipled individuals, if not duly curbed, will pervert their superior attainments by directing them to these objects. But it will be the triumph of a vigorous execution of law and good policy to restrain these misdoings;

and to judge of the future from the past, there will never be wanting some excellent white men ready to go forward voluntarily as we advance to the interior; with the benefit of whose experience and ready concurrence we may arrange a prudent interference, calculated to counteract such evils.

If, indeed, we act oppressively, or if, by not executing the law, and not putting a moderate philanthropy at the lead in our progress, we leave the natives to the unchecked "superiority" of the settlers of all classes, it is hard to say how violent their vengeance may sometimes be. Even in that case, (so comparatively weak are they, and therefore so cowardly is our injustice to them,) their combinations will not prevent our destroying them more miserably. To drive us out of the country, which the objection supposes it possible for them to effect, they must unite in vast numbers—an operation beyond the capacity of people in the condition of the South Africans; and it will never be attempted upon a small scale, unless wrongs goad them to madness. When things proceed well, discontent amongst the mass would be against all probability. If, in times past, outrageous oppression has led to no effectual combination, kindly treatment will create an hundred motives against it. For it is clear that savage life does not abound in attractions to the multitude, who are always struggling to get out of it, and Europeans have much to answer for in having impeded their efforts. Although individual savages, however much improved, can hardly be kept from falling back into wild habits, because they are oppressed by a sense of inferiority amongst us, and cannot bear to live without the countenance of equals of

their own colour; yet if tribes be fairly dealt with and improved in masses, the task of raising them, although difficult, is far from insuperable. All around, the people are anxious for our friendship, and ready to submit to just control. When, therefore, intercourse with us is seen by them to produce lasting advantages not to be gained by other means, they are unlikely to risk all by injuring us, whom they will also perceive to be powerful enough to inflict the severest vengeance for treachery, whilst we are willing to be benefactors to faithful friends. It may, therefore, be concluded that it will be wise policy to extend our relations with the tribes to a regular intercourse of a kind calculated to insure their confidence and respect.

The Romans present the great example of a refined people being ultimately crushed by the barbarians, who were civilised in the ruin which they carried before them. But the cases vary. The Romans committed signal errors in their course. They sought an extension of empire for many centuries, without the least consideration for the fair pretensions of other nations. They were also deficient in the great means of superiority which fire-arms give us; and there is reason to believe that, even in the state in which they stood in this respect, a greater regard for the rights of those whom they first approached would have raised a more impregnable barrier behind the old settlements than all the defences of the Roman legions.

Although another system has prevailed, that which is here advocated is not without experience and judicious supporters, as is shewn by the views of Sir George Yonge already noticed. But a grand argument in fa-

vour of actively philanthropic views upon the subject at the Cape of Good Hope, which are in fact the views of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, arises from its position relatively to the whole continent of Africa.

We are often charged with strange inconsistencies in our policy at different parts of the world—of doing in one place what (all circumstances considered) directly contradicts our actions elsewhere. This want of uniformity in measures emanating apparently from the same source, might be explained; and assuredly in no instances has the reproach been more deserved than in regard to Africa. In the south the policy of the Government has long opposed attempts to civilise negroes, at the same time that in the west we have braved a destructive climate in most noble efforts to benefit that unhappy race. The arguments for moderate pains at the Cape of Good Hope have always (except on one topic, the immediate attack on the Slave Trade) been as cogent as those properly yielded to on the western shores;—the prospect of success always incalculably greater;—and the trial of good principles during four years only in Caffreland, has produced such proof of the efficacy of the improved system here, as to make that prospect almost certainty. If it may not be safely asserted that the centre of the continent might be civilised from the south, before the other settlements can overcome the far greater difficulties opposed to them at their very thresholds, there can be no doubt that much aid could at no distant time be derived from persevering exertions in the South towards diminishing their force.

If, therefore, it be plain that, instead of checking the philanthropists, we ought to have supported them; and

if, as is not disputed, a large expenditure in this great cause be wise in any part of Africa, it seems impossible to deny that, to be consistent in our humane views, the reform begun should be carried much farther than to the present extent of removing a few obstacles of the old system. Yet little more seems to be determined upon in regard to the Cape of Good Hope.

In the events of the last five years, which have put out of all doubt the mistakes of the past, we possess some guide to the immediate intentions of his Majesty's Government. It is now also clear there will be no great reaction; although it seems doubtful whether so much will be done, as even moderate reformers upon this subject desire. The propriety of 'facilitating' trade with the Caffres and other nations living beyond the boundaries, is firmly established;* it is admitted to be desirable, and the local legislature of 1828 hold that it may be safe to admit them amongst us, both as servants *and otherwise*;† and missionaries of every denomination have begun, and promise to continue to be more than tolerated—which are all great points.

The Commissioners of Inquiry thought more extensive changes necessary, and for a time they were fixed; but economical views in England seem to have cut them short. In the absence of the special reports, it is satisfactory to find those on the Government and Finance distinctly declaring a better provided administration upon the frontier to be essential to its prosperity. The

* Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry, and Ordinance of Sept. 11, 1826.

† Ib.; and Ordinance of July 14, 1828; but suspended by Sir L. Cole.

Commissioners as distinctly and as satisfactorily place military proceedings in an increased subordination to civil authority; at the same time anticipating the reduction of military establishments through wiser methods of intercourse with our neighbours. They justly connect the tranquillity of the frontier with its trade; and what is still better, they look forward to such improvement in our own relations of every kind with the Caffres, and in their character, as will raise them in all respects to our level. They justify a large expenditure, only whilst it is essential to maintain adequate means of defence, and in order to support sufficient establishments for the all-important point of dispensing justice. It is to be regretted that by far the most effectual parts of their recommendations (as disclosed in the general report) are for the present suspended; and *that their advice to relieve the colony of part of the cost of those establishments is rejected.* That seems to be a point intimately connected upon many grounds with the great cause of civilisation in South Africa; and must be urged unceasingly till it be gained. In the mean time, what the sober zeal of pious men can do will be effected here; it has already done great things; but experience proves that, unless the civil government can also be induced to adopt a zealous spirit, what is so well done now will not endure. Exemplary success in North America, two centuries ago, under Elliott and his followers, gave way before adverse circumstances, somewhat similar to those which threaten us at no remote period. Had such circumstances not opposed general improvement, the exertions which have actually raised the Cherokees in better days to the high state of advancement which they have reached in the last twelve years, would have succeeded

throughout North America. Voluntary religious labours, as all missionaries have ever directed them, are above all praise, and would undoubtedly be sufficient alone, if they could be left undisturbed. The example of the Jesuits in Paraguay is another proof of the fact. But it would be a fatal mistake if the government should consider encouragement to the missionaries' societies, or what it has itself already done, *enough* to civilise the South African. The objects of missionary care will mix, and do mix individually with men of various habits and feelings; and require to be raised to a firmer constitutional condition, in order to stand alone, without moral or social degradation. This, as to worldly matters, is the true point to which increased care should clearly be directed.

We have near us numerous neighbours who will increase, and cannot stand still,—although they are not the vagrant race once asserted.

The story of the Caffres having ever retired, as alledged in the Quarterly Review of 1821, beyond any mountains, is incorrect. The only distant emigrations of Caffres, of which we seem to have any knowledge, are, of some who passed through the colony as Burchell, the traveller, says "by two and three," or of others who settled in the Bushmans' country north of the Beaufort district. These movements, which happened within the last 25 years, were the escape, as it were, of a few loose individuals from the bulk of the people. Some of the wanderers returned; and the history of most of *the rest* is accurately enough known to justify the assertion, that they never amounted to five hundred men in one body at any time, any where. The travels of Burchell, Campbell, and Thompson, are uniform to

this purport; and a manuscript account drawn up with particular care in regard to the numbers of the Caffre people, confirms their statements. It says in effect that "Zomie, a brother of T'Slambie, withdrew to the Ghamka with about *sixty men*—there he found two kraals composed of deserters from various chiefs. He then went to the Orange River." (This was probably in 1805—6.) It also states:—

"Some of the emigrants returned; and gave such favorable accounts of the new country, that they induced Habana and a brother to abscond in 1808.

"Olila (about that year) collected people from the boors, and endeavoured to compel Gohla and Ootzee, to go with him to the Orange River. They had been established several years in the Zwart Berg. Olila is supposed to have joined Zomie with about *forty men*."

"Gohla inherited no vassals: most of the people he had at the Ghamka have since left him to *return* to their legitimate chiefs. He had in 1809 but *ten* men.

"Ootzee had a few more than that number, and in 1809 had *returned* to the neighbourhood of the Sunday's River."

In fact, the population of Caffreland, in spite of many adverse events, has increased continually: and the people have long occupied a coast of above 200 miles between the Bashie and the colony. Their numbers many years ago were estimated at many more than 40,000, and in 1826 Mr. Thompson states them at "about 100,000 souls;" their country being, he observes, "far more densely peopled than any district of the colony." Other calculations have set the numbers at 130,000 and 180,000; as the following apparently careful enumeration, even at 195,000:

Names of Chiefs.	Number of Warriors.	Men capable of bearing arms, including the Warriors.	Women. and Children.	Total. Population.	Cattle, at the Average of 10 to each Family.	Increase yearly supposed one half.	Consumed for Food, say one half the increase.	Average weekly overplus.	REMARKS.
Botman	400	1,440	7,200	8,640	14,400	7,200	3,600	69	
Enno	600	2,160	10,800	12,960	21,606	10,800	5,400	104	Under the immediate command of Gaika.
Gaika	1,000	3,600	18,000	21,600	36,000	18,000	9,000	175	
Mac Como, Gaika's Son .	800	2,980	14,900	17,800	29,800	14,900	7,450	139	
Pheeno, Botman's brother.	800	2,980	14,900	17,800	29,800	14,900	7,450	139	
Slambie	1,500	5,400	27,000	32,400	54,000	27,000	13,500	261	Under the command of Slambie.
Dus'charne, Slambie's Son.	1,000	3,600	18,000	21,600	36,000	18,000	9,000	175	
Congo	900	3,240	16,200	19,440	32,400	16,200	8,100	347	Henza is the acknowledged king of the whole.
Henza	2,000	7,200	36,000	43,200	72,000	36,000	18,000	157	
Total . . .	9,000	32,600	163,000	195,600	326,000	163,000	81,500	1,566	

"Dr. Vanderkemp in his account of the male inhabitants of Caffraria, calculated in a different manner, gives 38,100, which is 5,800 more than I have done."

In the late campaign, it is understood that 18,000 men of Henza's, and 20,000 of the neighbouring Tambookies, were with us in one battle.

In regard to His Majesty's Ministers, it would be presumptuous to expect to adduce arguments more powerful than those employed by the Commissioners, and to which they once yielded. But in the variety of thoughts which occur to different minds, it is possible that something may be offered worthy attention, until those views be revived; or that discussion may remove some arguments which are now checking the execution of them. Possibly some errors have been adopted as to facts, by which the importance of the subject is obscured.

The matters so strangely misstated by the Quarterly Reviewer of 1819 and 1821 as to the depopulation of "the long line" of eastern coast from the colony to the Portuguese settlements, may not have been urged without effect.

Several circumstances concur to render it probable that persons of influence have listened to that argument, and if so, the decision would naturally be against appropriating money upon a body of wanderers as pretended. In calculating where ten thousand pounds might be saved in colonial expenditure, the topic so urged could not be without weight—and the opponents to civilising Caffres would, to be sure, gain a great point in proving their country to be really destitute of inhabitants.

The remainder of "the long line" to the Portuguese settlements is upwards of 300 miles; and the details respecting all the tribes there, in the Appendix No. 1. con-

tain full proof of that coast not being in the deserted state described by the Quarterly Reviewer. He has quite misapprehended the testimony of the party who visited the *Grosvenor*, and ought to have known that their story, which was printed in 1792, instead of being the *only* account we possess of the country, does not really apply to 150 miles of it; whilst what it does state proves Caffreland to have been full of men. It will be seen that we have for a century past possessed accurate information to the same effect from a great variety of sources.

Adjoining the Caffres, upon their north-west, and more intermixed with colonists, is a thicker population than seems to be commonly understood. The Ms. papers before cited, p. 169. in illustrating the frightful barbarity with which the Bushmen have been hunted down, at the same time indicates that they were numerous in districts not more fertile than the country in which we are now swarming about the Cradock. "The original population of the North-eastern frontier (viz. about Camdebo) must have been very considerable, if any credit can be attached to the accounts given by the old inhabitants of the exploits of their younger days. I have heard one man who is represented as an estimable character in other respects, declare that, within a period of six years, the parties under his orders had either killed or taken *three thousand two hundred* of these unfortunate creatures. Another has stated to me that the actions in which he had been engaged had caused the destruction of two thousand seven hundred. These persons acted under the instructions of the Government."

We know too, that many of these people have cattle

now in this good country, and that they have proved strong enough to be formidable enemies to the Caffres south-east of them.

Their intercourse is said to be considerable with the tribes beyond the Tambookies, as far as those immediately behind Delagoa Bay. The outline of their country in the map is traced by conjecture, founded upon the opinion of experienced persons.

Although there is no reason to believe that the colonial Caffres have made the large migrations asserted, yet the state of society in South Africa is unquestionably such, that the facility of migration ought to be taken into the account, in order to calculate what measures tend to the greater or less tranquillity of the colony. This circumstance is not less applicable to the white than to the coloured people. Indeed, the impossibility of keeping our own people back, suggests another important reason for wise, political, and active government upon the frontiers, and for political intercourse with the tribes beyond. Having brought white people into this country, we are bound to lead them, or they will be mischievous to others, and ultimately dangerous to us. The time is not very remote when they will be in contact with the Portuguese, who in the interior are possessed of fire-arms, and with whom, if neglected, they will either be in continual contention, or whom they will join in setting all law at defiance. The boors, too, are moving over the great river from all quarters of the colony, in a body sufficiently formidable to the inhabitants of the country they are trespassing upon; and the scenes acting at this moment on the northern frontier are believed to be of the most distressing description. The people described in the foregoing extract have become

numerous ; and the exertions of the missionaries, united to the degree of civilisation they have derived from their original connections in the colony, have made them very different from the Bushmen whom the boors have hitherto displaced. They will resist the trespassers, as may be conjectured, without much risk ; inasmuch as already several deaths are believed to have occurred since the movement of the boors across the river took place. The weapons furnished to the Griquas, in the manner stated in the following description, will now be arrayed against our own people. " The applications of the graziers for occupancies," say the Commissioners of Inquiry, " have followed the course of the Sea-Cow River to the place where it falls into the Orange or Groot River ; and a late survey of the boundary has been drawn with a view to include a new and very large tract of country, that extends from Winterberg to the northward of the Sack River on the western frontier.

" The pursuits of the people to whom the occupation of tracts of land granted by local magistrates, and yet unconfirmed, is allowed, consist solely of grazing during certain parts of the year, and of carrying on an illicit trade in fire-arms and ammunition with the Griquas and Bechunas.* These people, under the guidance of elective chiefs, and assemblies of the most popular form and structure, are endeavouring to establish an ascendancy over their remote brethren, and at the same time maintain a war of extermination against the unfortunate Bushmen, who have no property to lose. To these ravages have been attributed the deplorable state of distress to which many of these tribes have been reduced,

* Query Bergenaars?

and which has led numbers to seek refuge and subsistence in the colony, where they have been apprenticed to those colonists who are not slave-owners."—*General Report.*

It is proper to notice another objection to taking steps which promise to increase the happiness and importance of South Africa. Narrow as it must appear to an unprejudiced mind, it has been urged at the Cape, that Great Britain has no interest in such views; that the colony is a mere military outwork, or place of refreshment for shipping, and can only expect attention so far as such purposes may be secured. Thirty years ago Barrow had to argue against the East India Company's somewhat similar feelings. That body, however, is now occupied upon far more vital points than its relations with the Cape of Good Hope; and this objection is probably confined to official persons in the colony. The answer to it is plain: Our duty as philanthropists, and our interest as politicians, are identical in this case; for every step we take in a prudent system of improvement upon all matters in which the coloured people are concerned, will render our military possessions of the Peninsula more cheap and more sure. The necessaries of life will be produced throughout the country in so much the greater abundance, and large bodies of men struggling to secure a better condition than that is from which we are rescuing them, will be ready, in a war, to take part with their guides in the new order of things. It will be asked to what extent we are to carry our communication of this nature with the tribes. The reply is obvious:—so far as pecuniary means can be afforded by England for wise purposes, and so long as a reception

can be gained amongst the tribes, without contravening the great principles of international justice, and until they reach a condition not requiring aid. Either early success will demonstrate the wisdom of the suggestion of this political intercourse with people whom we are now destroying, or it may be soon stopped, if thwarted by unforeseen obstacles and disappointments. If it succeed, the necessity of much activity on our part will cease at an early day, since civilised communities will spring up as we advance, willing to furnish instruments capable of sharing the task; and the best reward of our own earlier exertions will be found in their producing such labourers amongst the people thus civilised near the scenes of future improvement. The establishment for the purpose of carrying on the political intercourse recommended in this section, would resemble that which was founded by Lord Chatham in North America. Its probable advantages would be:—

1st. To lessen the great expense of the present frontier guards.

2nd. To increase the interior trade.

3rd. To increase the supply of good free labourers from the interior to the colony.

4th. To advance the civilisation of the tribes.

The Commissioners of Inquiry have recommended that six civil agents be dispersed amongst the tribes. But their special report on the subject has not been published. Lord Charles Somerset established something of this kind in Caffreland and upon the Orange River, the failure of which seems to be attributable to circumstances not necessary to be particularised in this place. At a very early period also, Sir George Yonge

was aware of the advantages of such agencies.* It does not, however, appear desirable that the functionaries should be so numerous as contemplated by the Commissioners of Inquiry; but the salary must, surely, be of a higher amount, in order to command the services of a superintendent of more suitable qualifications, than would be possessed by one content with a sum of £150. a year. A judicious functionary of this description would acquire a powerful moral ascendency over the tribes. If Sir William Johnson, the civil superintendent of Indian affairs in North America, could by his office contribute so largely as we know he did, to the conquest of Canada,† the Commissioner proposed would infallibly obtain such an influence over the native people of South Africa by the exercise of the superior means of power which the spirit of the times requires, as to obtain for Great Britain in South Africa a more honorable conquest then ever Lord Chatham's genius secured.

* See Appendix, No. 3.

† See in Thackeray's life of Lord Chatham, what appears to have been the first proposal for an Indian agency in North America. Its importance towards ensuring to us the possession of Canada proves the sagacity of Lord Chatham; but it would have been worthy of his genius to have anticipated the value of such exertions as are now making in America for the civilization of the natives.

CHAPTER VI.

5.—*Supporting the well-disposed Colonists.*

THE sentiments of the Secretary of State, as recently expressed in the House of Commons, are so strictly in unison with the true ends of the constitution, in regard to all classes of people, and with the express injunctions* of the King in regard to the particular subject of the present inquiry, that it is gratifying to repeat them, although it is impossible not to suggest a correction upon one important point.

South African Natives.

" House of Commons, 15th July, 1828.

" Sir George Murray.

" Sir,—The Honorable Gentleman is perfectly correct in stating that I have no objection whatever to the motion which has been put from the Chair. I concur entirely in the general views of the Honorable Gentleman; and I can assure him that there is no object nearer my heart—no duty more seriously impressed on my mind, than that of making all classes of His Majesty's

* See p. 24. above.

subjects in the colonies sensible that His Majesty is desirous to extend to them the same care and protection which he extends to those of his subjects who are nearer home; and I will more especially say, it is my most anxious desire that those classes of subjects, in whatever part of the world they exist, whose lot is unfortunately cast in a less happy state than others, should reap every advantage it is possible to bestow on them.

"The only difference between me and the Honorable Gentleman arises from the different positions in which we stand. The Honorable Gentleman, from the circumstances under which he is placed, is enabled to give a clear scope to that active philanthropy, and to gratify that humanity for which he is so extensively known, which is so honorable to him, and which it must be so gratifying to every man to exercise; but whilst I indulge in the same feelings of philanthropy towards all that class of men who have so much need of benevolence being extended to them, it is *my duty to respect, not only the interests, but the prejudices of the colonists, their habits, and even the errors into which they have been led;* for, however convinced we are that errors and prejudices do exist, we must all agree that it requires care and management to remedy the evil."—Barrow's Mirror of Parliament for 1829, Vol. iii. p. 25-35.

Sir George Murray, however, upon this occasion, assumed what he will be glad to know is not the exact state of the case, as to one colony at least; namely, that the white people at the Cape are so much prejudiced against their coloured fellow subjects, as to render justice to the latter in a high degree adverse to the peace of the colony. Immediate danger, in conse-

quence of violently excited feelings of prejudiced men, is the only circumstance, of course, involved in this question; for all parties are agreed that the measures contemplated in favour of black men will at an early day promote the best interests of all;—temporary inconveniences only being ever urged against their adoption forthwith.

If, therefore, much exaggeration be proved to have taken place in regard to an universal hostility to the native people, the Cape will the more speedily be relieved from that unequal dealing with them which is both its greatest reproach and a great burthen upon its resources, by continuing oppressions which paralyse industry. It deserves to be considered carefully, whether the white peoples' character on this point has not been misapprehended by the Secretary of State; and he will be gratified at being compelled to acknowledge that the fault lies where it can the most speedily be amended —in the Government at home, and upon the spot.

The questions are very different,—whether a part of those people are sufficiently free from prejudice to bear quietly that long-suspended rights shall be granted to particular classes for the general good;—and whether power can safely be given to that part over those particular classes. The latter position is not maintained, in arguing for the former. Although it may be safely admitted that the white people are not in that degree of union and sympathy with the black, which is necessary to justice being done in a colonial legislature, it by no means follows that all feeling for the condition of the coloured people is so utterly wanting at the Cape, that concessions to them will be received with alarming disquiet. Numerous proofs may be adduced, shewing that,

so far from the prejudice against the natives being universal, and so far from opinions being all one way to their disadvantage, there is, on the contrary, an active, strong party favourable to them. There are unquestionably two parties in the colony upon the subject, but so many persons of all denominations taken together hold just views on it, that they are entitled to obtain that support from Government for the next fifty years, which, to its discredit, the other side has enjoyed without profit during more than half a century past.

If it can be shewn that past iniquitous measures always had opponents amongst the white men in the worst times, it will be readily granted that the number of such opponents must have greatly increased with our growing liberality; and if it can be proved that leading persons, once adverse to just views, now firmly support them, we shall have proceeded far towards compelling no reluctant assent on the part of the Government forthwith steadily and vigorously to take up the right side.

A very few authorities are conclusive. The transactions of 1702 will be mentioned in the Appendix, No. 3. in which the Government distinctly states that a part of the people are very differently inclined from the large body, whose outrages upon the natives that Government was nevertheless afraid to punish.

In 1744, when the Moravian missionaries were driven from the colony by the bigotry and selfishness of the people, to which again the Government most improperly gave way, there were not wanting a few voices to remonstrate against the disgraceful act.

In 1775 Sparrman,* after stating honestly what bar-

* Vol. ii. p. 144.

barities were exercised in the eastern parts of the colony; and after adding, with some simplicity, that Government had no other part in them than that of "taking no cognisance" of such things, proceeds: "I am far from accusing all the colonists of having a hand in these and other cruelties, which are too frequently committed in this quarter of the globe. Whilst some plume themselves upon them, *there are many who, on the contrary, hold them in abomination, and fear lest the vengeance of heaven should, for all these crimes, fall upon their land and their posterity.*"

In the same year in which Sparrman wrote, a distant country functionary *besought the Government to support his successful endeavours to make peace* with the natives, of whose sufferings from the colonists in another quarter that traveller is speaking. Whilst it furnishes confirmation of Sparrman's testimony in favor of some of the white men, it does not quite leave the government with the poor excuse of merely "taking no cognizance" of the crimes perpetrated. It appears that then, and since, such excuse is so far from being well-founded, that it has three times issued the most oppressive orders against the native people. Once the Dutch Government originated* what some of its functionaries were sufficiently ready to follow up, but which *others* disputed, to their own injury:—twice,† in better times, the British Government commanded what even Dutch functionaries hesitated to perform.

The following letter contains the act alluded to, and

* Dr. Philip's Researches, 2 vol. p. 177.

† Ib.—1816 and 1820.

proves what could be effected at an early period; and we know from Dr. Philip's Researches, that the writer was not the only functionary well-disposed to carry humane principles into execution; although the local government could not be prevailed upon to support what was so obviously just.

Mr. De Klerk to Mr. Berg, Landrost of Stellenbosch.

"Sir,—I beg to acquaint you that I have made peace with the Bushmen of my district. It is about a year since I applied myself to making this peace; but in vain until within the last five months. Whether they will hold their present minds I cannot tell with certainty; but they have engaged to do no more mischief. I made one a captain, and sent him to arrange the business. At first a few only came in, but about two hundred afterwards. They desired that we should, on our part, abstain from further violence; which I promised, in case they were quiet. To confirm this, I request a staff may be sent for this Hottentot captain.

"It is stated to me that Cornelius van Wyk has preferred charges against me for being careless regarding commandos; in which the man belies me, as I can bring all the people of my district to witness that I have never been absent, unless when sick; and in that case I have always appointed an able substitute. The truth is that I am called a negligent functionary only because I will not allow van Wyk to follow his own will against the Hottentots: whereas I should secure his good word, if I would comply with his wishes; and then there could be no peace with that people. I shall, however, continue

to act so that I can answer to God, as well as to the government; for the case affects my conscience.

"If health be granted me, I hope to come in May to Stellenbosch; and I request to be discharged from my burgher duty and from my office, as I am growing old. But if you allow me to appoint an able deputy when commandos are ordered out, I would gladly continue a year or so longer, in order to see how affairs go with these Hottentots, whom I have brought to a peace; as if another succeeds me now, the event is likely to be otherwise than is promised.*

JACOB DE KLERK, *Field-corporal.*"

26th December, 1775.

The systematic and appalling slaughter which this functionary endeavoured to stop, is described at large by Dr. Philip from official documents.

Vaillant has preserved an incident which proves both the existence of well-disposed people, and the injury they suffer by the violences of the ill-disposed not being stopped by Government in 1782.

"The boor could not refrain from shedding tears when he related to me that in the commencement of the war against Caffraria, *in which he refused* to assist the rest of the planters, he had been attacked with his wife, an only son, and his Hottentots, by the Caffres, with whom he had always before kept up a friendly intercourse;—that he and his family quickly hid themselves in the bushes; but that at day-light he found his son pierced through with a thousand assagays.

* Ms.

"He confessed that the hatred of the Caffres was inveterate, but that it was very unlucky for the innocent that the effects of their vengeance did not always fall upon those who alone deserved it."—Vaillant, 2. 321.

Again:—in 1795 the captain of an American ship, the Hercules, wrecked in Caffreland, had excellent opportunities of observation on this point; and he expressly accompanies his remarks upon the grievous cruelty practised towards the Caffres, with a qualification in favor of colonists who were known to act otherwise.

"I asked him (speaking of a Caffre who had told the captain a gross and melancholy instance of ill-treatment to the natives,) if all the colonists were of this abominable disposition? He answered, I hope not.—And indeed, on this occasion I conceive it would be unjust in me to publish any thing that might be mistaken for a censure on the whole of the settlers. There are exceptions, and I think it necessary this should be understood, as I have known many of them who hold the general conduct of their marauding neighbours in the utmost abhorrence, and wish for nothing more sincerely than their expulsion from the colony."—*Account of the wreck of the Hercules.—English abridgment, p.* 80.

Lord Macartney, as we shall see (App. 3.), founded some conciliatory measures towards the Bushmen with the aid of Dutch boors; and Dr. Vander Kemp at the same period met with many zealous supporters of his mission at the Cape. After much experience of the hostile feelings of numbers of the boors against the Hottentots, Dr. Vander Kemp also found cause to declare that if they were removed, there would be found "a remnant," with whom the persecuted people might live in peace; and he distinctly appeals to the Government not to *take*

part with the unworthy. Barrow did an injustice to the colony by failing to notice the *exceptions* to the character which he applies to the boors.

Mr. Burchell, in 1812, qualified his testimony in the same strain. After telling the story of unjust and barbarous usage experienced by some Bushmen laborers from a boor, he adds: "I cannot allow the unfavorable qualities of an individual to be adopted as the *general* character of the Dutch colonists; any more than I would admit selected examples of individual worthiness to be taken as specimens of the whole colony. Of the latter I know many; of the former, I wish that I knew none." —Vol. 2. p. 96.

Burchell was in the colony in perilous times for the natives, when frightful things were done against the Caffres and Gonaquas; and when it was not a little doubtful whether all the Missionary institutions would not be abolished; yet in that struggle right prevailed, and a colonial secretary* of that day, who took the just side, offered any sum of money a missionary could employ profitably for his people. In 1828, Dr. Philip, when speaking of the suppression of two missions in compliance with the hostility of *some* of the boors, testifies that "many in Graaff Reinet showed a different spirit, manifesting great sorrow on that account."—*Dr. Philip's Researches,* Vol. 2. p. 26.

In 1829, the writer of these notes heard from Hottentots at Bethelsdorp a variety of anecdotes honorable to some of the boors; and the very natives who are sunk to the earth under general oppression, studiously told of the kindnesses which they sometimes expe-

* Mr. Alexander.

rienced. It is even found by cautious, practical men, that the objects of missions may be promoted by employing persons already in the colony. "I would suggest to the society," says a missionary to the London Missionary Society, "the desireableness of obtaining missionaries among either the English or Dutch in this country. The extent of the population is such, that a sufficient number might now be obtained for all the funds the society could devote to this part of the world. Dr. Philip procured several persons in Cape Town, now usefully employed, besides others who have materially aided the operations of the society."—Ib. Vol. 1. p. 235.

All this is confirmed in an instructive manner by the remarks of the Commissioners of Inquiry. They notice firmly the existence of prejudices against the colored population, "which colonists in slave countries are prone to imbibe;" and justly mention it as an *objection* fit to be weighed upon the question, how far to select local functionaries from those colonists; but their conclusion is not unfavorable to the general colonial character, although justly severe upon the mode in which public officers have been appointed. The whole of this part of their report deserves to be rigorously acted upon by His Majesty's Government, although it might diminish their patronage; and as the passages bear directly upon the interests of the native tribes, the whole may be cited with advantage:

"With some exceptions, a principle of selection for civil employments has been generally observed, that is well calculated to conciliate the feelings of the native Dutch inhabitants towards the English Government;

and at the same time to open a prospect of slow but progressive advancement .... This principle has been open to the objection that it has tended to expose the colored population (chiefly of the servile classes) to the effect of those prejudices which colonists in slave countries are prone to imbibe. The honorable exceptions in the early part of the British administration in the late Chief Justice Ryneveld, and the Commissioner upon the frontier, Mr. Maynier, would doubtless have been followed up by other as distinguished examples, *had the principle been more steadily inculcated that the exercise of impartial justice, and the enforcement of the laws, would be the best recommendation for preferment to situations of influence in the country.*

"In later periods military officers on half-pay have in some instances been selected for Landrosts, to a certain degree superseding the claims of the junior civil servants, who had passed through the subordinate branches. These officers had, when *long established, imbibed in as strong a degree as any of the natives the desire of maintaining the policy by which the interests and very existence of the colored race have been rendered subservient to their own.*"—General Report.

The commissioners further state their objection to employing colonists to be limited to judicial or magisterial functions. "We think," say they, "even that after the lapse of a few years the necessity of this limitation" will cease; and in other than judicial appointments, "we have found abundant reason for approving the system of employing colonial youths of good character and education, as a measure of justice and sound policy; and more particularly to recommend that their

claims to progressive advancement, arising from their qualifications, as from past exertions very inadequately rewarded, should never be allowed to be disturbed by the abrupt introduction of competitors from England, who have neither qualifications nor antecedent service to plead in their favor."—Ib.

Upon the same principle they would postpone the appointment of legislative assemblies in the colony, solely until the *not very remote* period, when all circumstances would permit their introduction with safety to the colored people.

Thus it is the opinion of the Commissioners that the good qualities of the people may be called forth advantageously to the colored people, and they trace out a method which no one will call visionary; or (with a little self-denial in point of patronage,) difficult to be executed by His Majesty's ministers. The anticipation of the Commissioners as to the change to be expected in men's sentiments, *if honest views be fairly* rewarded, is justified by the changes actually taking place. Since the government set a steady example of improvement on this subject, greater numbers of the colonists of all ranks have indicated a more kindly feeling towards the natives.

To these testimonies and facts it may be added, that in 1828 a society was formed at the Cape for aiding slaves to buy freedom; and that in a very short space of time it has become as respectable in the number of its members as perhaps ought to be expected on this delicate subject in so oppressed a colony.

Lastly, the example of the public press of the colony of the Cape may be adduced in favor of the feelings of

many of the inhabitants being sound upon this subject. Three newspapers were printed in 1828 and 1829, when much discussion took place in regard to entire freedom being granted to the natives ; and all took their part. The government may therefore be assured not only of some popular co-operation in a good course ; but also if it abstains from the just measures, for which the Secretary of State claims to be as much interested as the philanthropists, it will find opposition in the very quarters which are thought to be now the unmixed advocates of oppression.

CHAP. VII.

6.—*Supporting the well-disposed Natives.*

It would have appeared waste labor in 1829 to enlarge upon the good qualities of the native Africans and other aborigines of new countries, if recent proofs had not been given at the Cape of Good Hope, that a small party still maintain that they were born for inferior stations in society. A few arguments will therefore be submitted to the reader, in order to prove that liberty and justice may be wisely given to people, whom those arguments, if worth any thing at all, will shew to have been long scandalously deprived of both, in addition to being stripped of their possessions for the benefit of their oppressors.

The relations of life which Hottentots have generally filled within the colony, in consequence of the course which Europeans have pursued towards them, are those of laborers and soldiers; and rarely beyond the lowest steps of either calling. But they have not failed to act in both ith a propriety that could scarcely have been expected from men in such circumstances. As soldiers, their career has been exemplary. First enrolled about 1782,* with very little expectation of success, they have

* Vaillant's introduction.

proved that good usage, good food, and good clothing, will produce in the Hottentot fidelity and cleanliness, and all other military qualities, equal to those ever exhibited by other men. They are never mentioned in this character without express commendation; and it is to be hoped that all who thus appreciate their merits, and can reward them, will take care that the conditions on which they are now serving are suitably improved. It is neither just nor politic to let a Hottentot, after twenty years exemplary conduct as a non-commissioned officer, and even holding the situation of a sergeant-major, retire to something less than one fifth of the pension of an English sergeant.*

The missionaries and others have proved them capable of being Christians; and as far as their oppressed condition has permitted, they have struggled successfully for the ordinary rewards of skill and good conduct in various humble walks of life. To expect more would be an Egyptian demand of double products from an overtasked workman, unprovided with the common means whereby exertion could be encouraged. It is probable that if the way could at this moment be laid fairly open to those colonial Hottentots who by missionary help have been more favorably placed than their fellows, they would fill a variety of stations with credit. There are amongst those who have been sheltered and brought

* Acting Sergeant-Major Henry Klaas is advantageously known to every officer who has served in the Cape Infantry since 1807. He was promoted from the ranks in 1808, and now receives a pension of 3¼*d.* per diem.

up by the missionaries, some hundreds of men and women, who may safely challenge any district in the Cape colony for propriety of conduct as parents, as subjects, or as Christians. The good sense and patience of numbers of them have been proved in dreadful trials; and their errors are far more owing to adverse circumstances than to any peculiar vices. In this body of people the Cape government might find scope for a more active benevolence than it practises.

The writer of these papers had recent occasion to act for eleven Hottentots at a missionary institution in a troublesome law-suit; and his testimony is due to the accuracy of their statements, which were safe guides in a great variety of obscure details, and to their moderation in most provoking circumstances. On some points their sagacity prevented errors, into which their adviser would have fallen. It was also necessary to be prepared for an objection likely to be made to the disadvantage of this case, that the parties wished to evade labour; and upon inquiry into the real disposition of the men in this respect, it was found they were amongst the most hardworking of a body of colonists remarkable during many years for their ill-paid industry; namely, the wood-cutters of Plettenberg's bay. Barrow, Latrobe, and Thompson have specially noticed these wood-cutters, to whom many towards the eastern districts, and others in the western, might be added; but those writers have not adverted to the fact, that Hottentots are amongst the most laborious of them. The Baron van Pallandt, in 1803, in a rare pamphlet printed at the Cape, has been more careful to give the Hottentots due credit on this point. "These men," says the

secretary of Governor Janssens, "in the deepest forests, fell timber* for their employers, work too laborious for slaves, and to which the sinewy arm of the Hottentot is alone equal." He adds, upon another point often urged against them, "the false imputation of being prone to a life of vagrancy, and the essential inferiority and contempt which, therefore, it has been attempted to fasten upon them, cannot be allowed to degrade their true character. Doubtless, ill usage often drives them to such a life. But it would be as reasonable to derive reproach from this, as to call a people restless who are only attempting to shake off the yoke of a tyrant. The act only proves worthiness of character by indicating a love of freedom. On the other hand numerous examples are to be found of Hottentots who have lived a dozen or twenty years, or even all their lives, with the same master."

Much stress is often laid upon the disposition of the savage to go naked; and the Hottentots have received their full share of *philosophical* regret for their alleged innate preference of a sheep-skin to good Christian clothing. Extensive experience, however, at the missionary institutions is putting this matter on the right foundation, which the Abbe de la Caille understood thoroughly four-score years ago; when he declared—"Hottentots like trowsers of blue stuff as well as their sheep-skins; and the women are very proud of handker-

* Repeated calls have recently been made upon the Cape government in the newspapers, to do justice to the native wood-cutters of the Cedar Mountains, and others in the north-west of the colony.

chiefs for the head, such as the slaves wear. In service they wear their own dress, *only when their European employers do not find them other clothes.*"—p. 326.

In the year 1829 a proof has been given of the industry of the Hottentots, and of the obstacles in its way, which deserves to be recorded much more in detail than can be done in these papers. The woods at the Cape are held by the government; and the timber is cut under licenses, which produce a yearly revenue of £2000. sterling. Not far from Algoa Bay, a few families connected with Bethelsdorp have applied themselves to this employment, and have succeeded. Some neighbouring boors, seeing this with an evil eye, amongst other persecutions, charged them with living by plunder. An inquiry was ordered by the governor, who was perfectly satisfied with the result. In 11 months they had taken out 45 licences; had disposed of upwards of 3500 dollars worth of timber; bought for their subsistence, barley, Indian-corn, pumpkins and cattle to a large amount: and the magistrate sent to examine into the groundless charge, humanely remarked, without going into further details, that "to do so would be an injury to such men, who ought to receive every encouragement instead of having obstacles thrown in their way." An account of all the transactions, of which this scandalous charge formed a part, ought to be printed by the Cape Government,* to shew fairly with what extreme difficulty the Hottentots *at this moment* obtain either justice or the commonest reward of industry. The occurrences took place on a spot the most favorable to

* Sir Lowry Cole deserves every credit for taking up this case.

these poor people, in the midst of their determined friends, the missionaries of the London Society; with the rare accident of having legal advice from a casual visitor at the Bethelsdorp institution: so that we may justly conclude that some ten thousand of the same people are elsewhere exposed without relief to oppressions heavy enough to crush the energies of angels.

The Europeans in fact, by unjust or by impolitic treatment, have ever been in fault, very soon after their communication with wild people; crushing the dispositions uniformly entertained to improve, but which it is not in the nature of things to urge with success beyond a certain rate of advancement. Especially has it been overlooked that to change the condition of a people happily, they must themselves be willing agents, and therefore not be victims to those who wish to introduce the difficult change.

Most advantageously, indeed, may we draw upon the good-will and the talents of the leading colored people, capable of taking an active share in the improvement of their tribes. An excellent use may be made of the zeal and sometimes of the ambition of the chiefs; whilst the lower ranks will supply valuable materials of every kind, if discreetly encouraged. That according to their circumstances the people generally desire civilisation, is unquestionable. The testimony of the missionaries is decisive on this point; wherever their establishments have been formed, they have been received with delight. But that testimony is also well supported by civil experience. Some proof has been adduced in the narrative, which has shown their aptitude for intercourse with us. We have further upon record the experience of four distinct civil missions.—Barrow's in 1797,

Truter's and Somerville's in 1802, Lichtenstein's in 1804, and Collins' in 1809: all these parties went amongst the wild people for purely civil purposes, and all seem to have equally divested themselves of any leaning to missionary views. Their reports, therefore, are entitled to be looked upon as affording altogether a distinct kind of testimony from that of the missionaries. The last will be noticed further in the Appendix. Barrow's account throughout, as to the Caffres, is as of a people who shared the wishes of one of their chiefs, Gaika, to be able to exchange their "instruments of war for utensils of husbandry;" and to "*return* to their ancient habits of peaceful industry."* Messrs. Truter and Somerville,† sent by the English Government into the interior, found the Bechuanas as favorably inclined to receive communications, as they have continued to be towards the missionaries. Two years afterwards, a Dutch commission made an equally favorable report.‡ All which is borne out by the observation of numerous individuals of all professions in the last quarter of a century.

In regard to the Caffres, a volume might be filled with the general approbation they have received. However travellers differ on other points, they all agree in enumerating so many good qualities in this people, that if common intelligence and common honesty cannot be denied to those travellers, their testimony is complete.

* Barrow's South Africa, vol. 1. p. 153.

† 1802. This journal is abridged somewhat loosely by Barrow, Voyage to Cochin China, but is published entire by Lichtenstein in a German miscellany.

‡ Lichtenstein's South Africa, vol. 2.

The Caffres are in fact struggling into civilisation, as rapidly as the short-sighted white government will permit.

In the example of a particular tribe, we may find an instructive lesson on this head. The Amagonakwaybies are now a body of more than 5000 people. They form the tribe of T'Conga, mentioned with advantage by Barrow and other travellers.

T'Conga was anxious in his day for "Christian instruction" to be imparted to his people; and we look back with wonder at the impolicy, to say the least, of denying it when the means were also at hand, and were denied with as good intentions in Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock as any Governors have since possessed, showing the insufficiency of good intentions alone to produce sound measures. T'Conga held the country west of the Fish River, by the sea-side, nearly twenty years, perhaps longer, and used to say he would never quit it alive: which we verified in 1812 by murdering him in his own hut, when grievously sick. His sons are well known on the frontier to be men of ability and courage, and of excellent character, having great influence over their people, composed of many half-civilised Gonas and T'Heintima Hottentots, firmly united with the Gonaquabi Caffres.

In 1812 they were driven over the Fish River under the most distressing circumstances; and subsequently they were compelled to retire to the eastward of the Keiskamma; the space between the two rivers being reserved for a neutral territory upon principles of defence now generally thought erroneous. During several years past, they have been allowed to graze their herds as far westward of the Keiskamma as the Beka, upon

what they believe to be a specific condition, that if they abstain from plundering the colonists, a portion of their lands will be restored to them in full property. It is well known that their conduct has for years been irreproachable on this point; proving that the chiefs can control their people, and upon suitable inducements will do so. They have a strong belief on this promise, which requires a careful examination. If their impressions are well founded, their right in the soil so earned cannot be impeached without a heavy responsibility. If they have misunderstood temporary occupation for a promise of perpetual enjoyment, explanation will be wise. One of the most common causes of war between the more and the less civilised, has been the error of the former, in treating the latter with a want of consideration, when points of difference arose, as if they were not reasonable beings. In the end of our struggles we always beat them through our superior strength, and they know it well. If, when we are in the right, our power were accompanied by calm reasoning, which they understand well also, they would generally give way. Add to this *reasonable* mode of proceeding, justice, when they are in the right, and our progress into the heart of Africa will be as peaceful as it at present threatens to be disgraced by bloodshed and oppression.

Since 1823, by the exertions of the missionaries, as important a progress has been made in spreading Christianity and civilisation amongst the Gonaquabis, as we have any example of in any new country. Their chiefs are men of high character, and possess a great influence over them, and are disposed on several accounts to become British subjects. The idea of coming (onder die wet)

under our law is familiar to many of the border people, particularly to those who have Gonas with them. They know its evils and some of its advantages, and make their claim deliberately.

It remains to be seen if the Colonial Government will take the proper steps to turn this gratifying state of things to the proper account. Setting right as to the neutral ground aside for a moment—it would not be hard to say where the barbarism lies, if such a people as the border Caffres are now repelled by us in their struggle to share the civilisation of which we justly boast the advantages. It is an abuse of language to call them savages: their personal character is far from that, however much needing to be improved. Their position, too, is of great moment; and the decision of the points in controversy upon their interests will be a touchstone of the new Cape administration in regard to the interior, to which they are an important key.

We possess what holds out to them inducements to a gradual assimilation of their customs to ours, of which they appreciate the utility, and some of them are prepared to unite with us upon suitable terms. There is something in their polity which facilitates so desirable a change; they have distinctions of ranks; and their chiefs are prepared for various degrees of magistracy. By a prudent allowance of part of their customs, the Cape may be the parent of tranquillity to great bodies of men, now either destroying each other miserably through the absence of protecting laws, or on the brink of a more miserable destruction by being crushed on our approach. With discrimination and a due activity, all this evil may be turned to good.

We cannot but wish that a quiet border police may be kept up:—here it has been accomplished. We desire these men to become Christians and civilised neighbours:—here they are giving proof of being both. The children of many of the chiefs read and speak English well; and their wives and themselves are advancing in our domestic habits by association with the missionary families.

Kamma, a chief of the Gonaquabis, and well known in Albany, is probably "almost" a Christian. Certainly he has been so deeply impressed with the usefulness of a most important Christian usage, that of having but one wife, that he has lately declined to take for a second, a daughter of Vosanie, chief of the Tambookies, in addition to one of Gaika's daughters, married to him some years ago, and still living.

The disposition of the Caffres to labour for hire, deserves particular notice, as affording an inducement to intercourse beneficial on both sides, if guarded with ordinary prudence. We find them readily entering in our traders for long voyages;*—willing guides and assistants in distant journies along the coast, passing shipwrecked people safely from tribe to tribe, for a moderate compensation;†—and at every opening for hiring as agricultural labourers for the last sixty years they have entered cheerfully into our employment.‡ The internal

* Appendix No. 1. Drury's account.

† Appendix No. 1. Hamilton's account.

‡ Proclamations to prohibit employing them were issued in the year 1820, as other proclamations had done for a century.

distractions of the country behind Delagoa Bay have in the last four years driven an unusual number of wanderers into our hands, whom it was an act of humanity to receive. They have been distributed in particular districts; and in July last a new law was passed upon the general subject to encourage the introduction of free colored laborers and others generally amongst us.

The details of the measure are vested in the Governor, and its execution is exceedingly interesting, How the first body has turned out after a trial of above four years, does not appear from any published documents. Their distribution and state from time to time should be announced in the Gazette, or at least instances of desertion (of which some are spoken of) should be recorded, with the complaints they have made themselves, or such as they have given cause for in their masters. It is believed that they have generally proved useful.

On one point a proper arrangement of this question of the neutral ground seems to be of pressing importance. That the settlers want cheap labourers, and also such as may be kept to their contracts if well used, is clear. The 49th ordinance has opened the frontiers for the cheap labourers; but much more than cheapness is necessary to make it suitable to the wants of the farmer. Now let the border chiefs be satisfied upon their own claims, and they will assist vigorously in executing proper restraints upon their people. Strict servitude, in their way, is familiar to them; and they have, in all Caffreland, not fewer than 10,000 serving refugees from distant tribes. By judiciously making the chiefs parties to our border laws and rustic police, we shall advance

them and protect ourselves. We could not by ourselves stop the cattle-stealing along the British location; but with the help of the chiefs, *it is understood* to have been for some time as completely accomplished *there* as in the heart of the colony. It may, therefore, be presumed that by interesting them more and more in improving their people, we shall gain their active intervention in support of good order in many other respects.

Of the kindly disposition of the Caffres, the testimony of an intelligent American sailor may stand for a volume which might be adduced to the same effect:

"Cast, with sixty of my people, on the shores of Caffraria, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them a protection which, in Europe, I might have sought in vain. * * * * * We were unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article either for our defence or subsistence. In this situation we were completely at the mercy of the natives; but instead of revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured from the savage whites, they made us fires, and gave us subsistence."—English Abridgment of Captain Stout's Account of the wreck of the Hercules, 1796. p. 4.

"I speak of these people as I found them; and from this knowledge I form an opinion, that, so far from their interrupting any settlement, they would hail the foreigner, when they were convinced of his justice, as their friend, their protector, and deliverer."—Ib. p. 20.

"These humane yet calumniated savages felt as men who truly felt for our misfortunes, and voluntarily gave consolation and support to the unhappy. We were

mostly whites, but still they were our friends."—Ib. p. 79.

"The profligate character ascribed to these unoffending people, originated in motives of still superior wickedness. The colonists are the fabricators of these tales, and propagate them throughout the country and at the Cape with uncommon industry. When the natives, incensed at an unprovoked and designed aggression, retaliate and kill a white man, the intelligence is sure to be conveyed immediately to the seat of Government, but without ever so much as hinting at the real cause of the dispute. The poor savages are described as a herd of wolves prowling throughout the country, and devastating wherever they come. The Christian farmers, seizing this opportunity, assemble; penetrate the country of the people they call their enemies, and then massacre entire hordes, without any distinction of sex or infancy. Their object being chiefly to get possession of the cattle, they drive whole herds before them, and then wait until they hear of more being within their reach, when a similar depredation is committed. To elucidate this matter still farther, I shall here relate an anecdote which I learnt in proceeding towards the Christian settlements.

"One of our guides suddenly called out to the party to halt. On my desiring to know the reason, he said, 'be so good as to look attentively on the spot where you now stand—it is an unfortunate place, but worthy your consideration.' Not observing any thing that particularly arrested my notice, I requested he would explain himself: 'On this spot,' continued the savage, 'two of my countrymen a few years since were employed in tending

their cattle. At that time we enjoyed a profound peace with the colonists, and had no suspicion they intended to injure us. In a moment, however, our two men were fired upon from yonder thicket. One fell dead on the spot; the other, being only wounded, escaped. The settlers then took our cattle and drove them to their farms. Intelligence of this murder and robbery was soon conveyed throughout the hordes, and occasioned the last war between the colonists and Caffres.'

" The poor fellow told this melancholy story with so much feeling and simplicity, that I could entertain no doubt of his veracity."

The calumniated Bushman is, no less than the Caffre, capable of returning with profit all the pains that shall honorably be bestowed upon him. Even his capacity to improve may be considered a settled point; but it is necessary to say something of the degree in which he is still persecuted by us.

An able writer, Malte Brun, has recently stated the Bushman's character to be *irrecoverably* wild. But his errors as to established facts are such, that his authority will be little esteemed upon the speculative point of capacity to be civilised. He considers the Bushmen have not been oppressed by the white people; and, to prove it, refers to a trifling liberality by certain boors, which occurred in 1798. Upon which it is only necessary to state, that down to 1823, not only had no effectual exertions been made in their favour by either boors or the Government, but the latter had crushed some successful Bushman missions in 1817;—had allowed most barbarous commandoes to continue to a very late time indeed;—is making no compensation for Bushman lands, recently taken

into the colony;—and is inactive under the same consequences of bloody and indiscriminate vengeance by the stripped Bushman, which, in early days, all the travellers attribute to the wrongs thus inflicted by Dutchmen on the unhappy race.

The following account of the actual condition of the Bushmen in a district seized by us in about 1825, was printed in London last year.

"The state of the poor Bushman, in some parts of this district, is affecting in the highest degree. His hands are uplifted against every one; and daily occurrences render it fully evident that he regards every man's hand as being raised against him.

"I was present a few days since at the examination of two men belonging to this tribe, who were lately caught and brought to judgment for the murder of a Hottentot, who was herding his master's cattle on the banks of the Kay River. And Mr. D. informed me this morning, that there are considerable numbers living in the mountains, somewhat more than a day's journey from Somerset. A few of them were prevailed upon, some time back, to come down and live with the neighbouring farmers. Here, however, they remained but for a short period. As if preferring their former barbarous and wild mode of living, notwithstanding its wretchedness, they deserted the abodes of civilised life, and again returned to their hiding-places; since which they appear to have been more savage and mischievous than before. About a month ago a Hottentot female, who had been tending the flock, was seized, on her way home, by a number of these barbarians, who, after mangling her in a most dreadful manner, left her wel-

tering in her blood; so that, when discovered, she was quite dead. An English farmer's servant was attacked by them still more recently, who, however, providentially escaped with life, but not without many severe and very dangerous wounds, some of which were inflicted by a boy belonging to one of the savages. His father set him to shoot at their defenceless victim, merely to prove his expertness in archery, saying, 'now, let us see if you can kill her on the spot!' (Such are the lessons of the Bushman's school, taught by a parent to his children!) But they were disturbed and obliged to take flight, ere the child had succeeded in casting a fatal dart. Two or three other circumstances of this nature, and equally shocking, occurred very lately."

The worthy missionary who records these facts, was not perhaps called upon to trace them to their political causes; but (to adduce one of twenty authorities,) Barrow has done it in 1798, and added the probable cure.

The cause and the cure may be told in few words; whilst, to justify the continuance of the cause, and the delay of the cure, will require some volumes:

Barrow's Africa, 1st. Ed. p. 234.—The Bosjesmans "are justly entitled to the name of savage"—a name, however, of which, it is greatly to be feared, they have been rendered more worthy by the conduct of European settlers.

The expedition to Sneuwberg was ordered, says Barrow, "to try, if, by presents and a lenient conduct, the Bosjesmans could be prevailed upon to quit their present wild and marauding way of life."—Ib. p. 237.

An interview was effected on this occasion, and the Bosjesmen received kind proposals with friendliness.

Upon another occasion, " a captain who had lived peaceably and industriously for fifteen years at the edge of Karroo, and was well known to the Veld Commandant Louw, said, that by making *proper overtures* to his countrymen, he had no doubt but many hordes would live quietly in the service of the farmers, for that their distresses now were grievous."—Ib. p. 380.

" At the edge of the desert the Bosjesmans' captain paid us a second visit, with the people of his kraal, and a whole string of Namaagua Hottentots, generally women, whose husbands and children served the Dutch farmers. One appeared the oldest woman I ever beheld. On being asked if she remembered the time when Christians first came among them, she replied, that she had strong reasons to remember it, for that before she had ever heard of the Christians, she knew not the want of a bellyful, whereas now it was a difficult matter to get a mouthful. The condition of the whole horde certainly appeared very deplorable; but I feel a happiness in adding, that, by means of this captain and two or three well-disposed farmers, several hordes of the outcast Bosjesmans have since been brought in, and obtained by public subscription a considerable quantity of sheep and cattle, of which, it is to be hoped, they will speedily see their advantage in increasing their numbers; and one of that worthy and very useful fraternity of men, the Hernhüters, has voluntarily offered his services to go among the Bosjesmans, and endeavour to promote in them that sense of comfort which has so effectually crowned their exertions at Baviaans Kloof.

" Other members of societies, established principally to propagate among savages the mild doctrines of Christ-

ianity, have also lately arrived in this colony, whose missions are particularly directed to the two nations of the Bosjesmans and the Caffres; and though they perhaps may not make them readily comprehend the full intent and object of their mission, they will at least, by their mild and humane conduct, inspire them with a degree of confidence in men of a different complexion to themselves, and shew them that the colony is *now in the hands of a government that will no longer sanction the cruelties under which they have so long and lately groaned.*"—Ib. p. 399.

The good principles which Lord Macartney began to act upon were approved by his successor, and by the Dutch under Governor Janssens. After our return the old views in a great measure revived, and they are not yet abandoned. The missionaries have been active; and the newspapers have contained appeals for some better exertions than with gunpowder, to be made in the district in question; but in May 1829 nothing effectual was doing, for the improvement and remuneration of the people whom British as well as Dutch have stripped of their country.

That they have a disposition to be improved, it is impossible to doubt; and it will be matter of deep regret if a corresponding wish to help their weakness be not soon shewn by the government upon which they depend.

The Griquas, although less numerous, have more immediate claims on our consideration than any other class of men in South Africa. Among them more especially, may be found materials for proving that the natives are susceptible of the highest degree of civilisation. They have long evinced their desire and capacity for it; and the neglect of these people has at a very early day pro-

duced natural consequences. The Cape Governments have much to answer for in their conduct towards the Griquas; and some details of their history with a few suggestions upon the probable benefits of good policy towards them, and the mode of exercising it, may elucidate the general object of these papers.

Mr. Southey has said somewhat with the brevity of an oracle, that when the Africans once have a Christian state among them, they will become civilised:—Colloquies on the Prospects of Society. The people of whom we are now speaking, are Christians, and should excite in us an interest for their fate.

The Griquas consist of about 4000 souls, partly sprung from Europeans, partly from pure colonial Hottentots. Their best known settlement is within a few miles only of the Orange River, and they are spread many hundred miles east and west; whilst they occupy land chiefly on the north side of the River. They also control numerous bodies of Coranas, and other aborigines who are intermixed with them. We have seen that in 1819 and 1820 they began to resort to a colonial fair at Beaufort; and travellers have found them penetrating the interior for purposes of barter, which they were properly encouraged at an early period to open with the native tribes. A portion of them have also of late, through the neglect of the British Government, carried on a very different species of intercourse with those tribes—to the extent of kidnapping them for slaves; and at this moment the employment and selling of slaves is common amongst them. If the missionaries had been properly supported, slavery might have been absolutely suppressed upon the

Orange River. For a hundred years past, men of a similar class have been rising in small numbers on the outskirts of the cólony; but the first serious notice of them seems to have been taken when the complaints were made by the burghers about 1780, against the local government. The book called L'Afrique Hollandaise, published in 1783, is devoted to those matters, and in the following passage describes the origin of many of the Griqnas:—"As to those colonists whom poverty forces from their ill-provided homes, they are still worse off. They have therefore resolved, however reluctantly, to go into the remote mountains, in order to raise some return from flocks and herds. Their increasing families or companions compel them to spread over a barren country, some making butter, others soap; bringing, after a six weeks' journey once or twice a year, a hundred dollars at the Cape, of which they must pay a large sum for their rent to the Company. The greater number rarely eat bread, living upon milk and meat. Their poverty often prevents their marrying and forming establishments; and some mix with the Hottentots, from whom a bastard race is springing up, which must be mischievous to this colony—a race of people, combining the courage and intelligence of Europeans with the Hottentots' wild ferocity; who will only require a leader of talent to unite the injured Hottentots, and perhaps the slaves, against the white inhabitants. If, with the advantage of their fire-arms, the latter are safe from expulsion, the scene of pillage and murder which threatens the colony from this source ought to induce the government to improve the system, and prevent these evils."—p. 150. A. D. 1783.

Those of the Griquas who are sprung from these men are not likely to be very friendly to the colony ; but another portion of them have even grounds for greater hostility—that portion is alluded to, whose ancestors once possessed the country near Cape Town, of which they were first stripped, and then were compelled by ill treatment to seek refuge in the desert.

The original body seems to have at first led a wandering life west of Griqua Town. Their increase of numbers, with want of civil government, caused many bloody contentions. Two parties were formed, who were continually fighting with each other. At this period, however, they supplied the Cape market with the chief part of the ivory exported ;* and encouragement would have greatly extended the trade, as has been since proved. Missionaries arrived in that country in 1801, and for many years discharged to the best of their power the duties which Government seemed almost to have "abdicated." After wandering for some time with their vagrant disciples, they impressed them with a desire to enjoy fixed habitations, and were invited by one of the two parties, with some Coranas, the aborigines of the country, to a particular spot north of the Orange River, where they settled in 1804. The place was first called Klaarwater, afterwards Griqua Town. This was the earliest effectual proof that was given in South Africa of the power of civilisation. With no influence but that of the mind and religion, these missionaries led the people to what, if the Government would consent *to lead*, the whole of Africa might be

* Barrow's South Africa, 2. p. 334.

brought to. Their natural connexion with the colony has never been dissolved, and their respect might be easily regained.

In 1806, they are described by one of their best friends as having no title originally to the land on the River. It belonged to the Coranas; and the Hottentots were before even considered as subjects of the colony. Some few individuals were at the first well-disposed, and steady in their religious and general conduct amongst themselves; but the want of active superintendence by the Cape government was then visible; for they all claimed a superiority which they abused, over the natives of the country, the Coranas; and over the neighboring Bricquas, or Bechuanas, five days' journey to the north. In 1806 they had begun to succeed in raising grain, and in enclosing gardens. At this period the missionaries very wisely sent them to the Bechuanas to barter beads, sheep, goats and dogs, for ivory, cattle, and skins.

In 1808 the numbers belonging to the station, exclusive of occasional visitors, were seven hundred and eighty-four. The Sunday-school had generally more than two hundred attendants; the day-schools more than eighty. *Twenty-six* adults and forty-six children had been baptized. In 1809 the principal missionary was in Cape Town, and received great encouragement from the Government, and some assistance for the protection and support of the institution; and the people continued to prosper for several years.

At this period another missionary station was in existence on this frontier, nearer the Atlantic; from which the following account was sent in 1809:—"We have planted some cotton, which grows well.... We wish

to have a printing-press, and some glass for windows. Our congregation is seven hundred, whose names are written in our church books; and many whose names are not entered. In my late journey westward, I found every where among the heathen an open door..... We have already, by the help of God, made two tribes of the Namaquas acquainted with the Gospel, besides the Hottentots who live along the Orange River, the Oorlam, or more cultivated Hottentots, and the Bastaards; but three missionaries can by no means supply them all. If, therefore, the directors could send us twenty-five more missionaries, they would find work enough in this country."

There can be no doubt of the importance of such exertions in that part of South Africa; but these early and favorable beginnings were to be crushed. In 1811 this station was attacked by marauding parties, which will spring up, *if not repressed by good government;* and although the nearest authorities and their superiors at Cape Town equally acknowledged the duty of interference, nothing effectual was done; so that this favorable beginning of civilisation was stopped.

During several years a steady progress was made towards civilisation at 'Klaarwater; and in 1813 the Griquas adopted that name; from the Griqua Hottentots the forefathers of the majority.*

Their numbers then at Griqua Town and the outposts amounted to 1266 souls, besides 1341 Coranas, whom they considered to be connected with them. Of these, twenty-six men and sixteen women were baptised.

* Campbell's 1st Journey, p. 356. and Philip's Researches vol. 2.

Many acres of land were in cultivation; and the possessions and comforts of the people had much increased, since they had become stationary.*

At this period occurrences took place at Griqua Town, which will be best described in the words of Mr. Campbell, who took an active part on this interesting occasion: 1st Journey, p. 382.

"August 7, 1813.—We had a meeting of all the male inhabitants of the settlement who were in the town, to consider about regulations for the protection of the lives and property of the community.

"I endeavoured to explain to them the necessity and design of laws for the government of every society; that if there were no law against murder, then every man's life was in danger even on the most frivolous occasion; if no law against theft, that the property of the industrious was at the mercy of the idle. And if they should become a much more numerous people, all would be anarchy and confusion without laws; that by appointing rulers or judges to execute the laws they might adopt, they were not giving away their power, but only lending it to the judges for the general good; and that in the history of the world there is no account of any people prospering without laws. I commended them highly for having become a stationary people, and said I was happy that they were from experience convinced of its utility; and I assured them that in

* In 1823, Mr. Thompson found the numbers at Klaarwater and the neighboring stations about 1600 souls; the people at a distance about 1000 souls, and the Koranna Hottentots living with them at least 1800 souls: Ch. 7.

proportion to the length of time they remained here, they and their children would become attached to the spot, and desirous to promote its prosperity; and they would feel it a home, of which, while wanderers, they were destitute.

"After Mr. Read had stated various particulars respecting proceedings at Bethelsdorp, followed by remarks from Messrs Anderson, Jans, and the two native captains or chiefs, all consented that laws should be made, and judges or magistrates chosen to execute them; and that a meeting should be held in the afternoon to consider what laws should immediately be made, and that the framing other laws should be deferred till circumstances should point out their necessity.

"It was agreed that their two captains should continue to act as commanders in things requiring the public safety against foreign attacks."

Laws were then agreed upon, which Mr. Campbell inserts in his book, and proceeds:—

"The people having expressed a desire that the Missionary Society should send missionaries to the principal outposts, we stated to them the great expense to the Society which even one missionary would occasion, for his education, outfit, passage, and journey to Griqua land; wherefore, that as Providence had increased their worldly substance, they should endeavor to aid the Society in sending teachers to them. One man might give an ox annually, others a sheep, a goat, or elephant's tooth &c. To this proposal they unanimously agreed.

"It was likewise resolved, that as they had no circulating medium among them, by which they could pur-

chase any small article, such as knives, scissars, &c. supposing *a shop to be established* amongst them, which they were anxious for, they should apply to the society to get silver pieces of different value coined for them in England, which the missionaries would take for their allowance from the society; having Griqua Town marked upon them. It is probable, if this were adopted, the coin would soon circulate amongst all the nations round about, and be a great convenience."—Campbell's 1st Journey, p. 352.

Mr. Campbell soon after visited the Griqua station at Hardcastle, west of Klaarwater, where he found about 480 Griquas, and 400 Corannas; who also adopted these laws. "Most of them," says Mr. Campbell, "expressed satisfaction that now they were to have rules, being convinced, from experience, of the inconvenience of living without law."—p. 363.

At this period, as might be expected, some of these people were unwilling to conform to the regular principles gradually established by the missionaries, and by their better disposed brethren; and a few days further to the west Mr. Campbell found people who had forsaken Griqua land, "quietly enjoy a plurality of wives, and to live in every other respect without restraint." —p. 390. At this place there were more than four hundred people speaking the Dutch language, having been more or less connected with people from the colony.

The Griquas were thus exactly in the state to have benefited as much by a wise course of proceeding on the part of the government of the colony, as they have suffered by the unhappy policy since pursued towards them.

The recusants might easily have been restrained; and the wiser part of this "infant civil community" have been encouraged with the best effects.

In 1814 the colonial government, instead of taking the course dictated by common sense and equity, sent a requisition for twenty military recruits, and declared that all communication between the *missionary* stations and the colony should cease, if the requisition were not complied with. This was under Sir John Cradock, and failed.* Lord Charles Somerset went farther, and

The missionaries did all that could be expected to support the wishes of the government in 1814, and made most reasonable offers:

"We could not say but that Mr. Anderson had done every thing short of using compulsion, to meet the wishes of government—more would endanger his success, and even his life."

* * * * * *

"We will allow that Mr. Anderson has received some favours from government. His people have passed, generally unmolested, backwards and forwards to Cape Town to traffic; and if government does not conceive the attention paid to the different commissions sent by government to that part of the world (with the last of which, Dr. Cowan's, two of their very best men sacrificed their lives) an equivalent for these favours, we would submit to His Excellency the propriety of levying a contribution, in which the missionaries and the most enlightened people with them would take a share; and we are confident that the Missionary Society would not be backward to subscribe their share, for any favour bestowed by government on their missionaries, rather than that the lives of their missionaries should be endangered." Address of a conference of the missionaries to the governor in 1814.—Dr. Philip, 2. 449.—The missionaries know too well the title of the colony to supremacy, and its usefulness, if not abused, to call it at all into question.

declared he would bring all the Griquas into the colony, and disperse them among the farmers. His Lordship said then that he was "persuaded more than exhortation was necessary to get them to labour; he had been an eye-witness of the laziness of the Hottentots at Genadendal and Groenekloof . . . . . and though he had not seen Klaarwater, he was persuaded things were not better."*

The consequence of this spirit was, that the infant settlement became a prey to the most distressing confusions. The missionaries were suspected by many to be the willing instruments of injustice; and their successful exertions were suddenly rendered vain. The arrangements made in London for increasing the numbers of the missionaries were also thwarted by the local government, and it was actually wished to withdraw the institution, in order that the people might become labourers within the colony.

And incredible as it may appear, an order was issued from the Colonial office, Cape Town, in 1820, commanding the Landrost to raise a powerful commando, and bring in all the Griquas prisoners.

Upon a memorial being presented by Dr. Philip to Sir Rufane Donkin, the acting governor, the design was abandoned.

Its extreme impolicy is well established in Dr. Philip's book; but he does not notice the outrageous breach of faith which it exhibits, by being planned when we had in the preceding year professed a desire of free intercourse at the Beaufort fair, which they attended,

* Philip's Researches, vol. 2. p. 63.

and which was to be held again in the year of this scandalous scheme.

An agent was afterwards appointed by the government to reside amongst the Griquas; but upon principles which aggravated the evils our impolicy had generated. The post was soon resigned, and for the last five or six years, the Orange River has been an unvarying scene of robbery and bloodshed.

Dr. Philip's lately published book contains many details on the subject, which are not too highly colored; but as he may be considered, however unjustly, to be a partial witness, I prefer referring for confirmation to the remarks of Mr. Thompson. His travels,* published in 1827, bear no marks whatever of leaning against the local government, whose neglect has been as mischievous as it is without excuse. The body of Griquas are anxious for civil government in connection with us; and by denying it, we are accessary to the sad scenes which are passing among them; and which cannot fail to produce the worst consequences to all parties.

Whether, in troublesome times, these people with their present numbers, and the possession of perhaps two thousand firelocks, are likely to be dangerous to the colony, is not necessary to be considered for the purpose of these notes. There are some points connected with the known resort of ships on the western coasts, from which gunpowder is thought to be procured, deserving attention; but other civil mischiefs in our present neglect of the northern frontier are more immediately pressing. It leads directly to bloody occurrences amongst these people themselves, as well as to gross oppressions

* Thompson's Travels, ch. vii.—London, 1827.

upon the distant aborigines; and the few last months have proved them more dangerous neighbours to the encroaching boors than the Bosjesmen, so long dispossessed with impunity.

The most striking error of the past, the attempt to bring this people into the colony by force and fraud, is not likely to be repeated; but we may fall into almost equally great evils by inactivity. Although any further endeavour to exercise despotic power will be seen too clearly to be vain, to be again attempted, they cannot be neglected without reproach. They are in a state to be most beneficially directed by our just influence. They would readily accede to an equal administration of law, and admit the supremacy of his Majesty's Government on fair terms.

If no other causes of acquiescence existed, the divisions amongst them would lead to a convenient settlement of all jealousies towards us, provided their natural wants were met and their natural rights respected.

Upon sound principles we may extend a cheap dominion, and insure happiness along the whole line of the northern frontier, and, by neglecting them, continue a miserable career of bloodshed.

The general report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, made in 1826, refers to details upon the subject which have not yet appeared; but it distinctly recognises the existence of disorders which private travellers and missionaries have described in the strongest colours, and recommends civil government to be strengthened by the immediate appointment of a magistrate towards the quarter of the colony adjacent to the Orange River.

Two years, however, have elapsed, and nothing is done;

although, in addition to the unnecessary causes of violence which have impeded civilisation on the Orange River for fifteen years past, the boors are now crossing it in a mass, at a particular spot specified in the map.

The consequence of this, without any arrangement, or any attempt to compensate the people in possession, needs not an elaborate description. Already blood is said to have been shed between colonists and Griquas.

Although this is the first year in which the boors have come in such open contact with men who will defend their possessions with fire-arms, the practice of dispossessing persons very like the Griquas is far from new. The Commissioners of Inquiry notice the fact, and Dr. Philip has adduced a strong example of the injustice which was in progress so late as in 1825. Between the Orange River and Beaufort he found a body of Bastaard Hottentots just driven from their lands. " I found them very decently clothed, and in possession of cattle and waggons, and other property ; and they had a sufficient number of trained oxen to assist me in my journey till I reached the first farm-houses of the colonists. A party of these people, consisting of eight or ten young men, having heard that I was in the country, met me at a place occupied by one of the same people, to consult me respecting their situation. At the very time they pointed out to me a large herd of cattle belonging to a field cornet, grazing the pasture from which their own cattle had been driven, and they had all received orders to quit that part of the country. The situation of these people was particularly trying. From their infancy they had lived in peace among themselves; they had a good character from the farmers nearest them ; they had ne-

ver had a missionary among them, but they had a person, bred at a missionary station, who acted as a schoolmaster to their families, and they could read and write. The natives of Britain could not have felt more at being ejected from the land of their fathers, than these people appeared to feel on this occasion; and what added to their perplexity was this, that owing to the occupation of the other parts of the country by the boors, they appeared to have no alternative left them but to fall into a state of bondage, or to go with their cattle to the other side of the Orange River."—Philip, Vol. ii. p. 303.

A similar story is told by Lichtenstein, who found the practice of dispossessing such people by the Dutch defended upon colonial principles, which we claim the credit of having corrected.

In 1829 a body of Griquas at Philippolis complained of similar present aggressions, in a memorial to the colonial government, which at once illustrated their capacity for civilised life, and some of the ill consequences of a neglected frontier. A translation of this memorial is inserted in p. 70 above. The parties to it are familiar with the colony. Other natives less acquainted with us have been often known to ask, "what kind of a government that is which will not avenge the wrongs committed by its own subjects" in this way?

The same points are further illustrated by the situation of things at the mouth of the Orange River. In 1827, a chief supported the colonial government with effect, in bringing the murderers of a missionary, Mr. Threlfall, to justice; and it is now well known that this chief and other leading men in that quarter are earnestly desirous of regular laws being introduced amongst them,

to put down the murders and violence of every kind now common there.

The employment of natives in superior pursuits has not escaped the attention of missionaries in South Africa. The London Society tried several individuals at a very early period with various success; and the members of other denominations, now firmly established in Caffreland, have received considerable aid from John Tzatzoe, the son of a minor chief, whom Dr. Vander Kemp received* at Bethelsdorp in his childhood, in 1804. It is impossible to have seen the little institution, now near Tzatzoe's kraal in the heart of Caffreland, where this native Christian resides under the patronage of the London Society; and more especially the pastoral excursions amongst the adjoining villages in which he accompanies the missionaries, without being struck with the usefulness of making natives instrumental in civilising themselves and their countrymen. There are cautions in regard to the extent to which the principle ought to be carried; but the principle itself seems to be of great importance. An experienced Moravian missionary has recently recorded his approval of it, upon one of the best arguments: "I have long wished to make a trial of using Hottentots as teachers in the schools, the missionaries acting only as visitors. If it succeeds according to my expectation, it will enable us to extend our sphere of activity, without increasing the number of missionaries in the same proportion." Letter from the Rev. H. P. Hallbeck, dated Guadenthall, Nov. 27th, 1827.—Periodical Account of the United Brethren for 1828, p. 365.

It is thus unquestionable that many native Africans

* Missionary Transactions, ii. p. 242.

have a sufficient tendency towards civilisation to aid in promoting it; and if we enable such men to see light, they will act with an incalculably beneficial energy. Deep foundations may be laid on the hopes and the influence of such people, for better things than the gloomy past presents to us; and they may, by and by, become important instruments in civilising their country. It is so plain that this means can be employed to an extent only limited by that of the native population,—and its guards and checks, and gradual progress, until they become absolutely such as we are, are so obvious, that to have noticed the topic will be enough for this place. Amongst other examples showing what sound exertions may effect in South Africa for civilising the natives, we may see in the records of the Moravians, details of the most encouraging description, showing the beginning, the struggles and the almost successful end of right proceedings under similar circumstances amongst the Cherokees in North America to the same purpose.

Whilst, however, much aid may be drawn from the natural feelings and from the good dispositions of many native people in South Africa themselves, it would lead to disappointment, if we relied upon their being essentially different from other uncivilised nations. The speculations in Barrow's journey of Truter and Somerville upon the Caffres being too virtuous for slavery, are beyond all doubt visionary.

So far from the slave trade not having penetrated farther south than latitude 20°, we find it was long ago carried on regularly, so low as at Natal, in latitude 29° 56'. Recent travellers shew clearly that domes-

tic slavery exists amongst the Bechuanas; and Mr. Burchell remarks that prisoners of war are kept as servants by them; and that captive children are also so kept, and sometimes transferred to other masters amongst themselves, but not sold to other tribes. He adds well, "this practice stands precisely at that critical point, where all that is wanting to ripen it into perfect slave trading, is the presence of those unfeeling Europeans who still continue to disgrace not only a civilised nation, but human nature itself. It hangs in that nice balance, which may with equal facility be turned either way."*

The Cape colony now affords proof to a certain extent of the correctness of Burchell's observation, by the establishment of a modified slave trade, upon its north-eastern frontiers.

Lichtenstein and Campbell both saw human beings traded with beyond those frontiers; and even Barrow records that the boors used to obtain slaves from beyond the boundaries, more to the westward. It is the account of a resident at Lattakoo some years ago that, "if the Portuguese had penetrated to the Bechuanas, slaves would have been supplied readily from either the conquered people or the children of servants. They do not sell slaves commonly," says this person, "but I have even known instances of chiefs, who had many wives, willing to barter their own children to strangers. The servile class of the Bechuanas are really slaves."

A century ago the Dutch sent Caffre slaves to the Cape from Delagoa Bay and Natal; and the English carried on a slave trade with the same nation, the Caffres, at the same period. The Hottentots were not

* Burchell's Travels in South Africa, v. 2. p. 536.

then driven out of their ancient country, the colonial Caffreland,—where the modern Caffres were believed by the English Cape Government to sell slaves to the boors at a very late period indeed.*

The Commissioners of Inquiry are said to have thought that a traffic in slaves was carried on by border colonists; and but very loose objections have been urged against the suspicion, in the supposed efficacy of the colonial registration of slaves; and in the disposition of neighbours to inform against each other.†

So far from the Bechuanas, and other Caffre tribes, at all times resisting the temptations held out to them by white men, to send their fellows into slavery, we find the practice not rare; and in very recent times a chain

* See the proceedings of the trials at the circuit in about 1816; and the instructions to the missionaries employed by Government in 1819.

† No one can doubt that the British Government wishes to stop a practice in its own dominions, which is the subject of so much negotiation and remonstrance with foreign powers; and if the fact be indisputable, that a modified slave trading exists at this moment at the Cape of Good Hope, his Majesty's ministers will not fail not only to cause steps to be taken for its suppression, but they will feel the necessity of enabling the Governor of the colony to improve our relations with the tribes, whom we are now rapidly corrupting, and crushing. In April last, the writer stated the result of the inquiry mentioned in the text to Sir Lowry Cole; and although from the insufficient means of checking such proceedings, at present in the hands of the Cape Government, such evils are not likely to be abolished, it was nevertheless evident that the subject would be no longer neglected. To be followed up with effect, establishments must be formed on the borders, which have hitherto been most unwisely denied.

of circumstances has been laid before the world by Dr. Philip, which it is impossible to consider without a strong conviction that it makes out his assertion that there at present exists slave selling in the north-eastern parts of the Cape.*

In the present year, (1829,) some inquiries were made into the practice of the border tribes, in regard to servitude and slavery. The opportunities for the inquiry were not very favorable; but the result seems to the writer to be fairly as follows.—Severe servitude is common amongst them all. Some individuals serve for mere subsistence, and for indefinite periods of time. Great numbers of individuals come in voluntarily from distant, distressed tribes, and serve in this way, or on more advantageous terms, according to circumstances. Numbers of others are liable to be sold in absolute property; and some are so sold by the Koussa Caffres, as in other tribes, amongst themselves. Amongst the Griquas and Bergenaars, who are sprung from, or in considerable connection with, the Cape, slaves obtained by barter, or by capture from Bootchuanas or Bushmen, are a common article of saleable property. They sell some of them into the colony at a low price, but without much difficulty; and the evils of slavery are at this moment increasing on our north-eastern borders there, where it is not sufficiently checked by the established authorities. The daily encroachments of the boors upon lands beyond these frontiers facilitate the practice; and if not properly regulated, they will throw an overwhelming weight into the wrong scale, which, as Burchell the

* Philip's Researches, vol. 2. p. 82, 83, 91, 265, 344.

traveller observes, wants but little to turn it. To this our impolitic neglect of the Griquas must also greatly contribute;—they had carried slaving principles from the colony, from which oppression expelled them; and the missionaries, unsupported, and even thwarted as they have been by the colonial authorities, could not be expected to destroy habits which had been acquired amongst the white people, who still indulged in them, and which also found easy means of gratification from the new neighbours these Griquas had reached in the other native tribes.

Although, therefore, the obstacle of the slave trade will be found in a less formidable shape towards the south, yet it is plain that, in introducing civilisation into this part of Africa, we shall have to struggle with that evil itself in some degree; and what is of greater moment, with the vicious feelings which have permitted slavery to exist any where; and we must conclude that, like all other evils, it will only give way to means yet to be devised, and which ought to be calculated upon sound principles to check it.

It is, however, far from an impossibility to meet most of the difficulties which each side presents. All the less numerous and more broken bodies scattered along the Gariep and all its branches, would admit the supremacy of Great Britain forthwith, *if no attempt were made to reduce them below the level of freemen, or to make them subservient to colonial interests.*

Let, therefore, the Orange River people be formed upon proper treaties, into separate jurisdictions, subject to the Governor-in-chief at the Cape, and with an appeal to the Supreme Court, *and also direct to the Privy*

Council in such matters as the distance permits to be appealable with advantage. But no administration for details at Cape Town, nor any at all Graham's Town, Uitenhage, or Graaff Reinet, can do justice to the fair claims of any society of men dwelling across the Orange River. At the Atlantic side the journey is many weary days to the south bank, and at the chief eastern districts some weeks from Cape Town;—and probably in fact, and certainly in opinion, to govern a community beyond the present borders by individuals within them, would lead to an unfair administration of business. A peculiar advantage seems likely to arise from forming the Orange River people into a community separate from the present colony. It will gradually raise the coloured man in the estimation of the white inhabitants. Much communication in trade and otherwise will still be carried on and be facilitated by it, inasmuch as the public peace will be better kept, and confidence improved. But the assumed and real superiority of the white people, arising from the habits of their civilised ancestors, and from their greater present capital and abilities, will not crush the opening faculties of these people. The exercise of civil authority over the latter alone, for a few years, will make them safe, and the mixture which must inevitably be allowed will then have the best consequences.

CHAPTER VIII.

7.—*Instruction religious and civil duly imparted.*

Instruction is not sufficiently resorted to at the Cape, as a means of improving the character of the colored people. The exertions begun to be made by the Government in 1813, were not followed up with the perseverance which a most encouraging reception of an appeal to the public in that year deserved; and the Hottentot Cape corps seems to exhibit *a great falling off* from a system of schooling, which is understood to have produced all the good anticipated from it by Sir John Cradock, the founder of the schools. "The introduction of a very extensive school," says his Excellency, "at the head-quarters of the Cape colonial corps at Graham's Town, to the amount of some hundreds of children, cannot fail to produce the happiest consequences."*

No attempt has yet been made to establish infant schools in any town in the colony; although it cannot but be felt that they are well calculated to improve a half civilised population, and extremely beneficial in a new country, where labour is too valuable to permit

* Sir John Cradock's letter to the Rev. Mr. Campbell; Philip, 2. 381.; and in the Missionary Transactions.

the instruction of very young persons in letters, soon after the period of infancy.

With the aid of these institutions, the injunction of the recent law of the colony, that slave children should be taught, might no longer be a dead letter. In North and Centre Africa the Mahometans teach the negroes with great success; and the leading chiefs send their children hundreds of miles for the benefit of superior tuition; and good policy would draw pupils from the southern tribes to our borders.

At the forts on the frontiers there might be formed numerous establishments to compensate our neighbours for the evils we inflict upon them; or perhaps stop these evils. Schools should be opened at each fort, as well as fairs, with private and fixed stores; and the commandants should be magistrates with legal jurisdiction. Thus, new towns would spring up in the spots first chosen for military garrisons, and the neighbouring people would be gradually mingled with us, and find law in the place of irregular discretion.

Connected with this head is the means afforded by medical skill. Every traveller, but moderately versed in the knowledge of medicine and surgery, has found the utility of his science; and in no country more than in Africa. The colonial government at the Cape would act wisely by enabling the medical officers at all distant stations to receive patients from the native people. The practice would have numerous advantages; and in forming civil establishments towards the boundary at an earlier period than the amount of white population requires, the numbers of the natives would well occupy the leisure of the civil surgeons. Payment would often

be made by such patients in cattle or by other means, and gradually this establishment itself might be part of the equivalent for the new lands we acquire, and which it is so essential that we should pay for. The laboratories of the surgeons might, without much difficulty, be made schools of their own art to the coloured people, as well as to the white youth; and all the kindred sciences might gradually be taught there. The discovery of native drugs and minerals would contribute to the expense of the establishments.

Until recently the Press has been refused to South Africa, with a most unreasonable jealousy; and it is to be regretted that the Government does not now derive from it the numerous advantages which it would afford in allaying the prejudices of some of the white colonists, and in correcting the errors of local functionaries. By publishing details of all transactions, a safe appeal would be made to impartial readers at a distance from places, which at present admit of little visitation; and where oppression is exposed to no regular check, except in the accidental disputes of individuals, or in tedious official inquiries. A few hundred pounds expended yearly in printing official documents on the spot, would produce a silent but inestimable improvement in the proceedings of all the functionaries connected in the affairs to which they relate. This would at the same time bring facts to the knowledge of Government, which now escape attention to the utmost prejudice of the public. The Government itself would form sounder conclusions, and act more energetically, when the facts now secret, were sure to be generally known. The advantage of such publication in regard to what are

called "vigorous" measures, would be great. These vigorous measures are in fact, generally, both impolitic and outrageous violations of natural justice. After they are carried into effect, they are obstinately defended; and correction comes too late; but few of them could stand before the disapproval which previous calm discussion would excite.

The project of seizing Gaika, the Caffre chief in 1822;—that for seizing the Griquas at Beaufort fair in 1820;—the killing the Ficani in 1828;—the seizing the neutral ground and Macomo's land in 1829, and the like, would scarcely have been devised, if liable to be submitted to public opinion.

The Government may now also greatly promote the civilisation of South Africa by affording assistance in printing grammars, and other books in the native languages. Dr. Vander Kemp began his task in 1800 with much energy by reducing the Caffre tongue to writing; and the publication of considerable additions made recently, is understood to be delayed by want of means. It is superfluous to expatiate on the advantages of multiplying printed copies of the imperfect manuscripts now in use. Errors would be the more rapidly corrected by being subjected to numerous observers; and it is easy to avoid the objection of giving permanence to errors in scriptural publications, by confining the general printing to other books, and by devoting unusual pains to such translations as shall be made of parts of the Bible. On these subjects almost nothing has been effected in New Holland. In the brilliant address of the President of the Astronomical Society last year, when medals were presented to Sir Thomas Brisbane and Mr. Dunlop, we

find benefits promised to the poor natives of that country, which if Mr. Herschell would *realise*, he might make no mean addition to his own reputation. Mr. Herschell justly enlarges upon the support which Sir Thomas Brisbane has given to astronomy, and says it will be a source of honest pride to him while he lives, to reflect that the first brilliant trait of Australian history marks the era of his Government; and that his name will be identified with the future glories of that colony in ages to come, as the founder of her science.

But something more must be accomplished by England, or what follows will prove the severest satire. "The colonial acquisitions of other countries," continues the President of the Astronomical Society, "have been but too frequently wrested from unoffending inhabitants, and the first pages of their history blackened by ferocious conquests and tyrannical violence. The treasure of gold and silver they have yielded, the fruits of rapine, have proved the bane of those who gathered them; and in return ignorance and bigotry have been the boons bestowed on them by their parent nations. *Here, however, is a brighter prospect.* Our first triumphs in these fair climes have been the peaceful ones of science; and the treasures they have transmitted to us are imperishable records of useful knowledge *speedily to be returned with interest to the improvement of their condition, and their elevation in the scale of nations.*"

Mr. Herschell should learn something more of what the science of England is doing for the race whose fate he supposes to be thus superior to that of other uncivilised tribes approached by Europeans; and his zeal will find ample scope in considering, not how to improve the

new Hollander, but how to save him from rapid and cruel annihilation. His splendid skies and fertile plains are, indeed, producing rich results to European science and industry; but our visit has hitherto had none but fatal results to him, "the unoffending inhabitant," from whom we are wresting his native land. In the Appendix No. 6. will be found some facts upon this subject, which may deserve deep consideration.

The regular publication in the Gazette of the following particulars would probably repay the cost in mere saving of money, within twelve months from the commencement of the system; and the public business of all departments would derive from it an exactness and improvement which would amply compensate the whole expence, if direct economy were not effected.

1. The instructions from England relative to the natives.

2. The instructions to the local functionaries.

3. The existing treaties with the tribes.

4. Trials, civil and criminal, concerning natives, in the way suggested above, p. 32.

5. Reports of the military expeditions.

6. Reports from the civil agents to the tribes.

7. Reports of the transactions at the fairs, such as used to be published.

8. Trading licences granted.

9. Trading licenses refused, and why.

10. The number of black people killed by us every year; and for what cause.

CHAP. IX.

8.—*Money from England duly expended.*

It is not proposed to open permanently new sources of expence in South Africa, even for the promotion of the excellent purpose of civilising the native people. It is only argued that it deserves serious reflection, whether twenty years trial of a system, by which we have bought, in one spot, two millions of acres of land at treble its value, does not prove that system to be wasteful, and fit to be amended. Since 1808, we have spent enormous sums in order to make this acquisition; with the further result of depriving ourselves of the labour which an improving body of friendly neighbours would gradually afford. In 1826, the Commissioners of Inquiry declared that they could "only hope for a reduction of the heavy expence now incurred in maintaining the defence of the frontier, by the progressive extension of more amicable relations with the tribes on the frontier; and they truly say that it is at once consolatory and satisfactory to reflect, that any measures tending to preserve the tranquillity of the frontier on the side of Caffraria, will in the same degree contribute to the prosperity and commercial enterprise of the colony."—*General Report, 6th Sept.* 1826.

Since that report was made, there have occurred three years of far greater military expence on the Caffre frontier, than had been experienced for at least the six preceding years; the recommendations of the commissioners, which aimed at "extending more amicable relations with the tribes"—not being adopted.

It is obviously, therefore, prudent to substitute for the old system, some new modes of intercourse which have more of the peaceful character; unless we propose to perpetuate the practice of buying our neighbours' country by campaigns which shall cost us, as the Zureveld has done, so much more than its worth.

It is conceived that money may be sent from England to this end, with a prospect of very early return, in the diminution which it will cause in the charges for forts, commandos, and other preparations for an unnecessary hostile position.

Three years ago the Commissioners of Inquiry recommended civil agents to be sent beyond the frontiers. The very least advantage to be gained from such persons would be, that we should know what our neighbours are doing. Instead of adopting this advice, the old state of ignorance is allowed to exist; and the natural consequences are, that in 1827 large districts are stripped of the inhabitants to be sent for weeks together to the frontier, in search of an enemy never seen. In 1828, a far greater disturbance of our domestic affairs takes place, (pressing most heavily upon the neediest class, the Hottentots,) and we attack a people who would have joined us against the *enemy* we were seeking, and whose great sufferings we ought to have alleviated instead of aggravating.

In 1829 the same unacquaintedness with much nearer neighbours, the Caffres, again fills the whole colony with alarm and disturbance, accompanied by the usual array of armed men and expensive military preparations.

Such a state of things seems to be so extremely irrational, that the proposal to remove it by the infusion of a little civil wisdom into the system which now produces it, will scarcely be rejected as useless.

Two things at moderate expense may, it is thought, be proposed with advantage, to promote a better course. First, the adoption of the settlement at Port Natal, somewhat upon the principles specified by the adventurers in the Appendix, No. 1.—Secondly, the appointment of a single commissioner for the interior. His usual residence might be at the head of the River Key, near the Moravian station in the Klippaat branch, but he should visit the great chiefs, and be the organ of communication with all the tribes from Natal to Lattakoo. It is believed that 600,000 souls would come within the immediate influence of his duties; and that an impression would be made through such an appointment, calculated to lead these Africans, eager as they are well known to be for improvement, to high civilisation in a very few years. The special duties of this commissioner may be proposed in a few words. He should represent the king to the tribes subject to the Governor at the Cape. He should negotiate treaties with the chiefs;—assist them in advancing the civilisation of their people;—report all their complaints;—reduce their customs to writing;—organise common laws between them and us on all points, subject to the approval of the Cape government;—promote the union of

tribe after tribe with us;—acquire their language;—and print annual reports on all points concerning the interior, in addition to making reports to the Governor of the Cape every week, upon all points concerning his post, and upon the state of the tribes. If his yearly reports were published in the Cape newspapers, it would be the best guarantee for his efficiency; and every year tenfold his salary would be saved in the improvement which his influence must extend amongst the tribes, and also the colonial border authorities.

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion.

From what has been stated in the foregoing pages, it appears to be no very violent conclusion, that the present course at the Cape of Good Hope must be amended, if we would avoid great evils to ourselves and to the native tribes our neighbours. Whether that amendment shall consist in a new stimulus being given to the local government to be more energetic, and more judicious in the employment of its present means; and the old instructions of 1670, p. 22, above, and the Dutch law of 1636, in the title page, continue, in a great measure, nugatory—or whether something like the views advocated in this volume be thought fit to be adopted,—no reasonable person can doubt the hazards to which we are now exposed. In the beginning of the year 1828, it would have been called insanity to have cautioned the Government against acts so barbarous as were perpetrated in the campaign of August in that year. Yet with those events occurring, and with the recent fact before us of the seizing the neutral ground, it may justly be asserted that a very slight motive would carry our

commandos again two or three hundred miles from the frontier; and possibly, so far as the destructive swamps of Delagoa Bay.

In the face of a Commission of Inquiry, whose first object in South Africa was to see that justice should be done to the natives, we have seized great part of the neutral ground; and pushed our limits to the Cradock and Keiskamma. It is not, therefore, improbable that in another five years the Orange River from the Atlantic to its sources, and the perpetually flowing T'Ky, from these sources to the Eastern Ocean, will be found convenient boundaries against the various tribes, who will be more and more troublesome, if their and our own true interests be not more successfully consulted.

It is not presumed to assert that the suggestions, made unreservedly in this volume, will put an end to all dissensions, or that they are the best methods of proceeding now at our command; but with some knowledge of what has long been doing in our colonies on this head, and with some experience of the errors committing at this moment in South Africa and in New South Wales, upon it, the writer ventures to submit his views to general consideration, as likely at an early day to lessen our expenditure, and to promote the welfare of our colonies, and the civilisation of the native tribes in communication with us.

It will be convenient to specify briefly a few measures, which are suggested by the foregoing views of our relations with the aboriginal tribes; and which, in South Africa more especially, seem to require early attention. If Christians are bound to be at least just,

and if the only legitimate object of civil government be the people's good, our duty has not yet been done upon most of these points.

(1) Publish—

(*a*) The minutes of the treaties and public engagements now in force and to be made with the natives.

(*b*) The instructions to the frontier authorities relative to natives now in force, and those from England.

(*c*) The number of troops on the frontier now, and the quantity of gunpowder expended since 1826.

(*d*) The complaints made to the authorities by natives against settlers or traders, and *vice versa*, since 1826, with the result.

(*e*) The presents made to the natives since 1826.

(*f*) The number of fairs held, and where, under the Ordinance of 11th Sept. 1826. with a digest of the reports of occurrences as was sometimes made from Beaufort.

(*g*) The number of licences granted under that Ordinance, and the number refused, and why; and the amount of the exports from the trade with natives.

(*h*) An account of the direct means of civilisation, now in force at the public cost.

(*i*) The number of acres ungranted in the whole colony, and the number given to Hottentots since 1828, out of the neutral territory.

(*k*) The number of people killed in the neutral territory, from the 1st of January, 1829, to the 1st of January, 1830, and why?

(*l*) When new boundaries are formed, announce them in the Gazette, with the foundation of our right to them.

(2.) Obtain in writing the opinions of experienced persons of all classes, and of natives through interpreters, upon the subject of our present rules of intercourse, and upon what will be good for the future.

(3.) Publish in the Gazette a draft of every intended new law or order, and digested heads of all future proceedings, and print the opinions given by the judges from time to time upon all points relating to the natives.

(4.) Organise regular communications with the natives as much as possible in small chieftancies, with their consent: not in order to govern them by divisions, but to encourage individual settlement in agriculture and otherwise; and to promote their earlier union with us.

(5.) Obtain the opinions of the chiefs separately, as much as possible, as well as conjointly, upon every new law affecting them.

(6.) Appoint a commissioner for the interior, subject to the Cape Government, but unconnected with the frontier authorities. He should perhaps reside at the head of the T'Ky, and frequently visit the Caffres, Tambookies, Bushmen, and Griquas; and be the centre of communication with them all. But make it imperative in the Governor of the Cape to visit the frontier within three months after his appointment to the Government, and once a-year afterwards.

(7.) Have their laws and usages reduced into writing, and let them be carefully weighed in all matters and changes respecting the natives.

(8.) Modify the rule of taking evidence, so as not to exclude any native whom they would listen to in trials.

(9.) As soon as possible organise juries of half natives and half colonists, for cases affecting natives; and have good interpreters of the native language.

(10.) Let the principle be "steadily inculcated that the exercise of impartial justice, and the enforcement of the laws, will be the best recommendation for preferment to situations of influence in the country."*—*General Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry.*

(11.) Compensate Macomo for the expelling him from his country.

(12.) Settle the disputes relative to the neutral country.

(13.) Settle the question upon jurisdiction when matters occur beyond the boundaries, and organise circuit courts of *appeal*, as well as common circuit courts on the frontier.

(14.) Regulate a system of compensation to the injured on both sides, when violences cannot be avenged by law.

(15.) Equalise all the laws which make any distinction between natives and Christian aliens.

(16.) Grant to the missionaries of all denominations, if required, funds for infant schools, and for schools of industry, for girls as much as boys: and where the missionary societies do not supply the country, appoint, at the public cost, a sufficiency of others, laymen and ordained ministers, upon the same footing, as near as may be, as the present missionaries.

* This principle is declared by the Commissioners of Inquiry *to have been violated of late years* in South Africa.

Establish a minister and school at all the military posts.

(17.) Encourage, at the earliest time practicable, the placing of young natives in the offices of civil functionaries on the frontier; and establish civil functionaries as soon as practicable (with the Caffres' consent) in Caffreland, and train young Caffres under them.

(18.) Encourage such visits to England and to the Governor, as Chaca is said to have recently intended his chiefs to make; and promote visits of the native chiefs to Madagascar, that they may see the benefits of improvement amongst colored as well as white people. Take the visitors in men-of-war, that they may witness our power; and receive improvement from the habits of order which they will witness.

(19.) In all respects call natives into the management of their affairs, public and private, as much as possible; and lead them as soon as possible to support their establishments at their own cost.

(20.) Encourage the subdivision of land amongst the natives; and agriculture by presents of implements and the like, when we make presents at all; but more by advice, and imparting feelings of individual independence.

(21.) As soon as possible organise an union of the Caffres and Griquas with Great Britain, and as separate colonies.

(22.) Give the Governor a power of *naturalising* natives in the colony in addition to admitting them under the Ordinance of July 14.

(23.) Reserve half of all the crown lands throughout

the colonies, for grants of various kinds, to encourage Caffres and other aborigines.

If land be occasionally given to well conducted and advanced natives, the supply of free labourers from the frontiers will be kept up, as the tribes will be more disposed to come steadily when their good conduct is substantially rewarded.

(24.) Employ king's troops solely for defence or defensive attacks, except upon emergencies, taking care to have always too many rather than too few on the frontier.

(25.) Let the troops act upon requisition from the civil authorities; but until a lieutenant-governor is appointed, let it be an imperative duty in the chief civil authority to consult with the officer commanding the troops.

(26.) Let all presents and other benefits conferred publicly upon the Caffres come through the civil authorities.

(27.) Let all grievances be first subjected to legal inquiry; and if that fail, let the civil authorities award compensation.

(28.) Let digested reports of all proceedings with natives, as well in courts of law as otherwise, be published in the Gazette.

(29.) Grant the neutral territory *chiefly* to deserving Hottentots, Bushmen, Gonaquas, and Caffres, not as a means of defence, but both as a measure of justice, and to form a step towards gradual civilisation; and organise civil government there in a separate district.

(30.) Let this new district be most amply supplied with the means of civil and religious improvement.

(31.) Settle all disputes upon the proper mode of recovering stolen cattle, by forming a plan upon agreement with the native chiefs.

(32.) Settle any questions still open with the Portuguese; and encourage mercantile adventure upon the coast, and interior expeditions for discovery.

APPENDIX, No. 1.

The Natal Settlement.

The inducement to publish this book now is, that it may promote the completion of a settlement begun at Natal, upon the south-east coast of Africa, in 1824. Very modern geographers had considered that country unknown; some persons had, as we have seen, even asserted it to be uninhabited. The following papers will afford proof of the erroneousness of such views; and they contain what the projectors of the Natal settlement submit to be sound argument in favour of their proposals.

Vasco di Gama appears to have passed by the whole of the coast in question, from far within what is at present the Cape Colony, without landing, until he reached the Rio de los Reyes, north of Delagoa Bay. His "good people" (the Caffres of that day) seem to have been met with in latitude 20° south. The Portuguese did not occupy Delagoa Bay, except for occasional trading, during two centuries after the discovery of the country by Di Gama; but they knew it well.

The following account of the south-eastern coast is taken from a marine survey of Manoel de Mesquitta Perestrello, a Portuguese navigator, who was sent by the order of King Sebastian. It is inserted by M. D'Aprés de

Mannevillette in p. 139. of the "Oriental Navigation," published at Paris, A. D. 1775:—

"I sailed from Mozambique," says Perestrello, "the 22d of November, 1575, to run along the coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, as your Majesty had ordered; and having arrived at Cape Corientes, the first point to be attained, I continued along the coast as near as it was necessary to execute the orders contained in my instructions; being careful to take in our sails at night when the weather demanded it.

"I reached the Cape of Good Hope the 28th of the January following, leaving nothing unexamined, but one little bay,* which runs along this Cape to the east.

"*Description of Natal.*

"The first point is in lat. 32°; it stretches north-easterly to the third point, and occupies towards the N. E. quart. N., about 45 leagues. It may be known by a huge point of rock; and four or five leagues from the sea, the country is covered entirely with large trees. When this point is in the north-west, three round little hills are seen above it; and one league beyond to the north-east, there is a wood, which reaches to the sea. The summit of the ridge of hills is undulated, and we remarked a space without wood, and three others larger than the preceding.

"The whole of the Natal coast is bold, with occasional sandy spots between the rocks and reefs, in which it abounds. There are no ports except some rivers, but none of these capable of admitting large vessels: the sea is

* Falsbaye.

deep, and the bottom clear. There is only one little islet near the land. In the distance are seen undulating mountains, adorned with verdure and rugged; it abounds in trees; amongst them we found the wild olive in the valleys, and on the borders of rivers, mint and beril,* and other European plants. The soil is rich, and a great part is fit for cultivation; consequently the country is populous, and well stocked with animals, both tame and wild. Of this character is the coast to the last point, which is in lat. 30°, and which, in relation to Point Pescadores, lies N. quart. N. E., and distant 12 leagues. This point of the country of Natal may be known by being not very bold, with clayey lands towards the west, and downs of sand towards the sea. In coasting it, it appears to run E. N. E. and W. S.W., which I remark, because Natal presents three points; namely, the two of which I have spoken, and another almost in the middle of these; and the coast runs along forming little bays till it reaches the two first points.

"*Description of the Point Pescadores.*

"This point is in 29° 20′; it lies, in relation to Point St. Lucia, N. quart. N.E. at the distance of about 15 leagues. This land is not high, and is marked by strata of clayey soil. Farther off, there is another point, which stands higher than that which abuts upon the sea; it has many white spots, and beyond, to the N.E., the coast is marked in stripes. Between this point and that of St. Lucia there is a small creek, affording but little shelter.

* Berle.

" Description of Point St. Lucia.

" This point is in 28° 30′; it lies, with regard to the land of Fumos, to the N.E., leaning a little to the east. It presents nothing remarkable: it is only a low point, covered with bush to the shore, which juts more into the sea than the neighbouring land. Between it and Fumos is the river St. Lucia, and the river of the Downs of Gold ; in which stretch there is a shoal not one league from the land, which is only 14 or 15 fathom deep, with a bottom of pebbles and broken shells. Farther at sea, it becomes a fine, black sand, intermixed with shells. The river is deep at the mouth, being increased by three other rather rapid rivers, and by the waters of some marshes of vast extent. The bar is not deep; it extends almost east and west. To the south of the bar there are breakers, which run out a gun-shot into the sea. The coast is low and edged with downs of sand.

" Description of Fumos.

"That point of land called Fumos is in 27° 20′; it extends N.N.E. and S.S.W. in relation to the river St. Esprit, and 30 leagues distant from it. I saw nothing by which it might be known. The whole coast is low and full of sand-hills; one point of sand only is clothed with bushes. This point juts out into the sea more than the rest; but it is only seen when very near. I lost two anchors here, finding myself one morning upon some reefs with an adverse wind, and for three days, I was in some alarm.

" *Description of the River St. Esprit and its Bay.*

" This river is 25° 45′; in regard to Cape Corientes, it lies almost E.N.E. and W.E.W., at the distance of 70 leagues. Observed from the S.E., a bold land presents itself, with an irregular outline and isolated; though it does not advance more into the sea than the rest of the continent. This island is a league and a half long, intersected in the middle by a white ridge. The mouth of the river, on the S.W. side, is deep, but disturbed by points of rock; its breadth is about a gun-shot. The mouth on the N.E. side is six or seven leagues broad, and forms a large bay within, which, during the spring-tides, makes a considerable low water. Nevertheless, it is capable of receiving large vessels. It takes in three large rivers, into which small vessels can enter. In order to sail up it, it must be entered near that point of the island to the N.E., at the distance of a good league, and not less; because there is not sufficient depth elsewhere, whether it be attempted on the side of the island or by the main land. The little islets should be coasted with caution, sounding continually. Upon the shoal there are seven or eight fathom of water, with a clear sand at the bottom. If you would proceed still farther up the river, it must be entered nearer to the island, even going beyond it altogether; after which, the Cape must be left due south, until the entrance at the south-west is seen, or perhaps not quite so far; and then cast anchor in eight or nine fathom of water near the island. In digging, we found sweet water in some places. You must moor across to the western side, on account of the strong current caused by the rivers here. The inhabitants of the island, as well as those upon the continent, are disposed to be friendly towards us; their king,

called Inhé, shewed us many tokens of regard, and all those on board the St. Bernoît: they are equally well disposed towards the Portuguese, who come here to trade with them for ivory, by the order of the authorities at Mozambique. Those on the other side of the bay are not so well disposed, as they commit all kinds of outrage upon those who go there to trade, as Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda experienced, and his whole crew, who were lost in the galleon St. Jean, in 1552."

In the 17th Century, Dampier preserved the following account of Natal.

"The following paper, containing a short description of a part of Africk that is not well known to Europeans, I thought would not be unacceptable to the curious reader. I have therefore annexed it, as I received it from my ingenious friend Capt. Rogers, who is lately gone to that place, and hath been there several times before.

"The country of Natal takes up about 3° and half of lat. from N. to S. lying between the lat. of 31° 30′ south, and 28° S. It is bounded on the S. by a country inhabited by a small nation of savage people, called by our English, Wild bush-men; that live in caves and in holes of rocks, and have no other houses,but such as are formed by nature. They are of a low stature, tawny-coloured, with crisped hair. They are accounted very cruel to their enemies. Their weapons are bows and poisoned arrows. These people have for their neighbours on the S. the Hottentots. Dellagoa is a navigable river in lat. 28° S. that bounds Natal on the N. The inhabitants of this river have a commerce with the

Portuguese of Mozambique, who oft visit them in small barks, and trade there for elephants' teeth, of which they have great plenty. Some English too have lately been there to purchase teeth, particularly Capt. Freak, just mentioned in my former volume, ch. xxiii, p. 510., who, after he had been in the river of Dellagoa, and purchased eight or ten ton of teeth, lost his ship on a rock near Madagascar. The country of Natal lies open to the Indian Sea on the East, but how far back it runs to the Westward is not yet known.

" That part of the country which respects the sea is plain, champain, and woody; but within land it appears more uneven, by reason of many hills which rise in unequal heights above each other. Yet is it interlaced with pleasant valleys and large plains, and it is checquered with natural groves and savannahs. Neither is there any want of water; for every hill affords little brooks, which glide down several ways; some of which, after several turnings and windings, meet by degrees and make up the river of Natal, which dischargeth itself into the East Indian Ocean in the lat. of 30° South. There it opens pretty wide, and is deep enough for small vessels. But at the mouth of the river is a bar which has not above ten or eleven feet water on it in a spring-tide; though within there is water enough. This river is the principal of the country of Natal, and has been lately frequented by some of our English ships; particularly by a small vessel that Capt. Rogers, formerly mentioned, commanded.

" There are also other streams and rivers, which bend their courses northerly, especially one of a considerable bigness about 100 miles within land, and which runs due north.

" The woods are composed of divers sorts of trees, many of which are very good timber, and fit for any uses, they being

tall and large. The savannahs also are clothed with kindly thick grass.

" The land-animals of this country are lions, tigers, elephants, buffaloes, bullocks, deer, hogs, conies, &c. Here are also abundance of sea-horses.

" Buffaloes and bullocks only are kept tame, but the rest are all wild.

" Elephants are so plentiful here that they feed together in great troops; 1000 or 1500 in a company; mornings and evenings they are seen grazing in the savannahs, but in the heat of the day, they retire into the woods, and they are very peaceable if not molested.

" Deer are very numerous here also. They feed quietly in the savannahs among the tame cattle, for they are seldom disturbed by the natives.

" Here are fowls of divers sorts, some such as we have in England, viz. duck and teal, both tame and wild; and plenty of cocks and hens. Besides abundance of wild birds, wholly unknown to us.

" Here are a sort of large fowls as big as a peacock, which have many fine-coloured feathers. They are very rare and shy.

" There are others like curlews, but bigger. The flesh of these is black, yet sweet and wholesome meat.

" The sea and rivers also do abound in fish of divers sorts; yet the natives do but seldom endeavour to take any, except tortoises; and that is chiefly when they come ashore in the night to lay their eggs. Though they have also another very odd way which they sometimes make use of to catch turtle or tortoises. They have a living sucking fish, or remora, and fastening a couple of strings to it, (one at the head and the other at the tail,) they let the sucking fish down into the water on the turtle ground, among the half-

grown or young turtle; and when they find that the fish hath fastened himself to the back of a turtle, as he will soon do, they then draw him and the turtle up together. This way of fishing (as I have heard) is also used at Madagascar.

"The natives of this country are but of middle stature, yet have very good limbs; the colour of their skins is black; their hair crisped; they are oval-visaged; their noses neither flat nor high, but very well proportioned; their teeth are white, and their aspect is altogether graceful.

"They are nimble people, but very lazy; which probably is for want of commerce. Their chief employment is husbandry. They have a great many bulls and cows, which they carefully look after; for every man knows his own, though they run all promiscuously together in their savannahs; yet they have pens near their own houses, where they make them gentle, and bring them to the pail. They also plant corn, and fence in their fields to keep out all cattle as well tame as wild. They have Guinea corn, which is their bread; and a small sort of grain no bigger than mustard-seed, with which they make their drink.

"Here are no arts nor trades professed among them, but every one makes for himself such necessaries, as need or ornament requires; the men keeping to their employment, and the women to theirs.

"The men build houses, hunt, plant, and do what is to be done abroad. And the women milk the cows, dress the victuals, &c., and manage all matters within doors. Their houses are not great nor richly furnished; but they are made close and well thatched, that neither winds nor weather can hurt them.

"They wear but few clothes, and those extraordinary mean. The men go in a manner naked, their common garb being

only a square piece of cloth made with silk grass or Moho rind, and wrought in form of a short apron. At the upper corners, it has two straps to tie round their waists; and the lower end being finely fringed with the same, hangs down to their knees.

"They have caps made with beef tallow of about nine or ten inches high. They are a great while making these caps; for the tallow must be made very pure, before it is fit for this use. Besides they lay on but a little at a time, and mix it finely among the hair; and so it never afterwards comes off their heads. When they go a hunting, which is but seldom, they pare off three or four inches from the top of it, that so it may sit the snugger; but the next day they begin to build it up again, and so every day till it is of a decent and fashionable height.

"It would be a most ridiculous thing for a man here to be seen without a tallow cap. But boys are not suffered to wear any till they come to maturity; and then they begin to build upon their heads. The women have only short petticoats which reach from the waist to the knee. When it rains, they cover their bodies with a simple cow's-hide, thrown over their shoulders like a blanket.

"The common subsistence of these people is bread made of Guinea corn, beef, fish, milk, ducks, hens, eggs, &c. They also drink milk often to quench their thirst, and this sometimes when it is sweet, but commonly they let it be sour first.

"Besides milk, which is the common drink, they make a better sort of the same grain before-mentioned, purposely to be merry with. And when they meet on such occasions, the men make themselves extraordinary fine, with feathers stuck into their caps very thick. They make use of the long feathers of cocks' tails, and none else.

"Besides these head-ornaments, they wear a piece of cow-hide, made like a tail; and it is fastened behind them as a tail, reaching from their waist to the ground. This piece of hide is about six inches broad, and each side of it is adorned with little iron rings of their own making.

"When they are thus attired, their heads a little intoxicated, and the music playing, they will skip about merrily, and shake their tails to some purpose; but are very innocent in their mirth.

"Every man may have as many wives as he can purchase and maintain; and, without buying, here are none to be had; neither is there any other commodity to be bought or sold but women.

"Young virgins are disposed of by their fathers, brothers, or nearest male relations. The price is according to the beauty of the damsel.

"They have no money in this country, but give cows in exchange for wives; and therefore he is the richest man that has most daughters or sisters; for to be sure he will get cattle enough.

"They make merry when they take their wives; but the bride cries all her wedding-day. They live together in small villages, and the oldest man governs the rest; for all that live together in one village are a-kin, and therefore willingly submit to his government.

"They are very just, and extraordinary civil to strangers. This was remarkably experienced by two English seamen that lived among them five years; their ship was cast away on the coast, and the rest of their consorts marched to the river of Dellagoa; but they stayed here till Capt. Rogers accidentally came hither and took them away with him; they had gained the language of the country; and the natives freely gave them wives and cows too. They were beloved

by all the people; and so much reverenced, that their words were taken as laws. And when they came away, many of the boys cried because they would not take them with them."

Journey overland from Delagoa Bay to the Cape in 1683.

"I believe the first communication or commerce either to Natal or Delagoa with the English came by accident. About 1683 an English ship, the Johanna, was lost somewhere about Delagoa. The natives shewed the shipwrecked men more civility and humanity than some nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeness; for they accommodated their guests with whatever they wanted of the product of their country, at very easy rates; and assisted what they could to save part of the damaged cargo, receiving very moderate rewards for their labour and pains. Their language was by signs; and for a few glass beads, knives, scissars, needles, thread, and small looking-glasses, they *hired* themselves to carry many things to a neighbouring country, and procured others, who also served them for guides towards the Cape of Good Hope, and provided eatables for their masters, all the while they were under their conduct. And, having carried them about 200 miles on their way by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, who conducted them and provided for them as the others had done, for 700 or 800 miles farther, which they travelled in 40 days, and so delivered their charge to others till they arrived at the Cape; and some of the English falling sick on the way, they carried them in hammocks till they either recovered, or died; and out of eighty men there

were but three or four who died; but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape I have forgotten. This account I have from one of the travellers. He told me that the natural fertility of those countries he travelled through made the inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile, and simple. Their rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water-fowl, besides manatees, or sea-cows, and crocodiles; their woods with large trees, wild cattle, and deer, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, for game; also many sorts of fowls and birds, with ostriches."—Hamilton's East Indies, vol. i. page 9.

The following Notes were taken from the Minutes of Council and other Manuscripts at the Cape of Good Hope and elsewhere.

" December 24, 1688.

" His Honour the Commander, having stated that for three years past he had endeavoured to become acquainted, and make a treaty, with the Inquakas Hottentots, situated about one month's journey off, it was resolved to send an expedition thither, to enquire whether a road could be opened to Port Natal; and to obtain information concerning the survivors as yet remaining from the wrecked crew of the Stavenis; and then to explore the whole country as far as Delagoa Bay."

" October 22, 1689.

" It was resolved to send the galiot, the Noord, to Natal, for the people of the Stavenis; and to buy the bay and some adjacent land for the Honourable Company."

October 25, 1689.

The fourth article of the instructions to the Commander of this expedition is to buy from Ingese, the chief, the bay of Natal and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, cutlery, or what might please the people, to the value of 29,000 guilders; of which the particulars were not to be mentioned in the deed, to be signed by the Chief Ingese, and his relations. The purchase was made; but the Dutch do not appear to have followed up these steps until their Delagoa Bay Settlement was formed in 1720.

"At the Cape," says another account, "I met with one Joanis Gerbrantzer, master of a Dutch ship, who in 1690 was in Terra di Natal, distant from the Cape about 800 miles, where he said he bought the place for the Dutch East India Company for 20,000 florins. Coasting thence to the Cape, his ship was cast away, but they all got safe ashore, who, 18 in number, set out by land for the Cape, distant about 200 miles, where only four arrived, all the rest dying of hunger, thirst, or heat, except two or three who were killed by the Hottentots. They saw no wild beasts except elephants. In 1705, Gerbrantzer went again to Natal, the late king's son then reigning, to whom he spoke of the former agreement with his father. 'My father,' answers he, 'is dead; his skins (*i. e.* his clothes*) are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him; and the place is fenced in, over which none now must pass; and as to what he agreed to, it was for himself, I have nothing to say to it.' So Gerbrantzer urged it no further, having no

* Speaking of a tribe of natives on this coast, Purchas says, when a man dies, they bury him in cloth if he have any.—See Salt's Abyssinia, 1814, p. 50.

orders concerning it from the Company. At his last being there, he met with an Englishman, who was left there in 1698. He had two Hottentot wives, and children by them, but would not return with him to Europe, lest his family should be slain in his absence."*—John Maxwell's "Account of the Cape of Good Hope in 1706." (London, 1715.)

Two official memoirs upon the south-eastern country, published in Amsterdam in 1716,† shew what enterprising persons then thought of its advantages. The writer, Colonel Purry, considers Natal to be "one of the most fertile regions upon earth," and capable of producing inexhaustible supply of grain and other provisions, if settled. "The fertility of Cafraria," says he, "increases as it extends towards Natal; if several persons who have visited it by land are to be credited." At this period, Natal was understood to commence at the Great Fish River, and Cafraria embraced what is now the Cape Colony with the whole of South Africa, to about the twentieth degree of south latitude, on the western coast, and on the east to Mozambique.

The Dutch settlement at Delagoa Bay was begun in a vigorous spirit. A despatch from Amsterdam, dated December 23, 1719, orders factories to be formed upon the south-east coast of Africa, and especially one for trade with the

* There is an original manuscript copy of this book, with other papers on the Cape, in the British Museum.

† A copy of this publication of Colonel Purry, entitled, "Memoire sur le Pays de Cafres; et la Terre de Nuyts," may be seen in the library of the British Museum. It contains some remarks upon Nuyts Land, in New Holland, which will be thought curious by persons interested in the new settlements at the Swan River, and King George's Sound. But especially ought the writer's proposal to civilise the natives, to be weighed by the government of this country. "Ils sont," says he, "membres de la société humaine," p. 73.

natives in Rio Delagoa, at the mouth of the river St. Esprit, in about 25° south latitude. The trade was to be pursued above Delagoa; and below, to Terra de Natal, in about lat. 30°; both up the rivers and by land in the interior.

If the prospect proved good, a factory was to be formed at Natal at the mouth of a river, situated nearly in lat. 30°, where a tract of land had been bought for the company, as stated in a despatch from the Cape of Good Hope, dated May 25, 1690; the price being about 20,000 guilders in merchandise. At the time of this purchase, the Company was informed of the convenience and fertility of the country, and that it abounded in timber and in divers kinds of cattle, producing also ivory, amber, wax, and gold-dust, in trade.

The expedition left the Cape on the 14th of February, 1721, and reached Delagoa Bay on the 29th of March, where they found the natives friendly; some of the latter understood Portuguese, and supplied the party with milk, eggs, plantains, pine-apples, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, and one goat. They landed at about two miles and a half within the bay, and seven miles from St. Mary's Island. The establishment seems to have been about 100 in number.

It was soon found that the land of Bembo and Mainisse possessed a fresh water river three days' journey off.

Their reports were frequent, of which the following are specimens; and the table in the chapter on trade will shew what productions were obtained at the settlement; which, however, did not prove sufficiently profitable to be continued.

These papers were taken from the Colonial Secretary's office at Cape Town. An unforeseen circumstance prevented the completion of a research which was begun there with every advantage, from the facilities afforded by Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Bell, the secretary; but it is hoped that the few facts now brought to light will lead to a further examination of records, which seem to contain useful journals, charts, and other details, relative to the well-peopled country between the Cape Colony and Sofala. The following short notices present sufficient information to account for the failure of the early settlement; but the moral revolution now in progress in the world, inspires a hope, that whilst the face of the earth and the condition of man, in South Eastern Africa, remain almost the same after a hundred years, they will now be visited by Europeans with views calculated to introduce the most important changes in both.

The writer of the following letter took an early distaste to Delagoa Bay, where he was second in command. It must be acknowledged, that with trade alone in view, a large establishment at the public cost could not be justified: but both upon old and new, and upon Dutch as well as English principles, it is difficult to find a justification for establishments in any part of Africa not applied directly to philanthropic objects, as much as to those of vulgar politics and private trade.

" REPORT.

" 1721.

" The natives, hearing of my arrival, came in great crowds to satisfy their curiosity, and pawed me from head to foot with their greasy, painted hands; so much that, to my vexation, my clothes still bear their marks. I could not stir without their raising a frightful shout; and when they saw me use my snuff-box, a hundred would press about me for a pinch. With all my liberality they were dissatisfied, and would speedily have consumed my whole stock, so fond

are they of snuff; not, however, that any thing can be obtained from them for it in barter.

" They flocked daily to my tent; but with nothing but a few fowls, eggs, and bananas for sale; and for this they asked so much, that experience has convinced me of the incorrectness of the accounts at the Cape. These not being the articles we were seeking for, we informed them that they must bring amber, ivory, wax, rice, &c., for which they would be well paid. After a few days, seven or eight of them arrived with a small elephant's tooth, weighing five pounds; and this we bought after almost the whole day's haggling. From that time they have brought but four small teeth, and about ten pieces of what has been called amber; yet for this we are incommoded by them from morning till night, to the interruption of all necessary employments. For although they have nothing to sell, and nothing to do, yet they are perpetually thronging the place, begging food or spirits; and this in such numbers, and so rudely, as to compel admittance almost by force. Nor can one even rise from a seat without forthwith seeing it occupied by them. They are, besides, so much given to thieving, and, although naked, so dextrous and ready in concealing what they have pilfered, that they may well pass for accomplished rogues. This, however, might be managed, and even prevented, if there were but a prospect of profit.

" But I hold it a duty to declare to your Honours, on my conscience, that I cannot perceive in what possible way, gain can reasonably be expected here; and I should be exceedingly rejoiced to see any one point out how it will probably arise. Nothing but an extraordinary revolution indeed will effect it. The natives are, out of all doubt, wretchedly poor, stupid, and lazy. Even that little ivory which was brought us at first, had been hoarded for years; for now

they come by ones and twos, and at long intervals, with teeth brought from a distance of 40 or 50 leagues. It also often happens that a dozen of them are partners, and when a bargain has been struck with one, another comes to cancel it; and all the while they press for spirits, one after another, which it is almost impossible to refuse.

" As to the trade in honey, wax, and rice, matters are worse. I have not seen altogether a quarter of a pound of honey, and no wax at all. The whole quantity of rice obtained is about ten pounds weight; and if pearl-barley had not been brought with us, this settlement must have been in the greatest distress.

" It is very doubtful, whether the substance held to be amber be genuine; and if so, it is procured in too small quantities to deserve consideration, and comes from too great a distance, to pay the expense of transport.

" There is very little probability of the natives taking the trouble to plant, sow, or cultivate any thing in great abundance, and preserve it; much less that they will adopt European dress; at least their offers for cloth are far below its cost. They will only be induced to wear clothes by obtaining them for nothing.

" I one day tried them, by offering a full suit of my own for an elephant's tooth of above 16 pounds weight; but they would not listen to it, wanting a yellow sort of bead, of which we had no stock. They would look at nothing else, and we were obliged to let them go.

" *En fin*, I confess myself altogether disappointed in the expectations, which previous accounts had raised: nor can any one who has been on he spot, entertain any other opinion, than that which I now hold; unless, preferring their own interests in an employment to those of the Honourable

Company, they misrepresent what they must be conscious is the fact.

" Whether agriculture might not succeed better, if we had a firm footing in the country, and if Europeans and other people fit for it were employed, I cannot yet judge; because I have been too much occupied to visit the neighbourhood myself. What little I have been able to observe of the soil, induces me to think it might produce crops with irrigation. It is a yellow, sandy soil. But very high above the water, the heat would, I fear, burn every thing up.

" Frederick Carel Loffenberg."

The name of this writer is the second to the general report of this period, which he signs with the cautious qualification of, " as far as has come under my personal observation." He probably retired before the next year, as he is not a party to any more reports. Capellen and Engelings, whose names are still known on the maps, and Michel, seem to have managed the settlement, until it was broken up about the year 1730.

The following extracts were taken, with Loffenberg's letter, from the Cape books, relative to the settlement afterwards.

" REPORT.

" August 2, 1724.

" On the 18th instant, some natives from the opposite side of the river, Tembi's country, arrived. They brought seven strangers with elephants' teeth, the whole of which

we took in barter. One of the strangers had some gold dust in a bladder in his pack; we have the honour of presenting it to you. Tembi's people incited the man to set an inordinate price on the gold, which, however, we thought necessary to buy that they might bring more.

" We asked him, whence he came? how far his country was off? where he got the gold? what he gave for it? how it was obtained? how long he was on the way to the country in which he got it? what countries he passed on the way thither? and, finally, whether he would accompany some of our people to that place?

" He replied, that he came from Nassangano's country; that his village was two days off; that he got the gold for yellow beads in the country of a chief named Thowe Sekanje; that it is obtained there out of a river; that the country was visited by white people to buy the gold. These we think can be no other than the Portuguese * from Chifalla; as they are known to get their gold a few days inland.

" In regard to the distance from his own country and that of Thowe Sekanje, he could give no other information, as he cannot reckon by hours, than that, if he set out with the new moon, he could be back on the fourth following moonlight; and that he had to pass the countries of the following chiefs :—Chiremandelle, Inthowelle, Mockande, Mainite, Mohouhage, Chiwile, Mosaphile, Manje, Mahoete, Hoemole, Mathue, Makoeje, Isemboute, Imbahoele, Guane, Douwane, Imbouwe, Moetchelane, Klembe, Kiwembe, and so to Thowe Sekanje, where he got the gold.

" He said he would go to the place with a party of our men, some time hence; but that he must go home to dispose of the beads he had got for the gold and ivory. He

* See next note, p. xxiii.

added, that he expected to meet there some people from the gold country, whom he would bring to us; and we promised him a good present to do so.

" He also stated, that he should not pass through the country of Paraotti and Machicosje, but leave them on one side. This man's name is Mangoele. In his own country, most of the copper brought hither, is obtained, but with much difficulty from the mountains, by his account. They smelt the ore into bars. We send you a pattern of the neck-rings which they wear, made of this metal, to the weight of four and five pounds.

" The garden of the Company produces vegetables for us every day. By this ship you will receive some leaves of the indigo grown here. We have not been able to prepare it, as none of the people understand the method. Wheat, rye, and barley are sown. The young peach, apricot, and Guinea trees which have been planted, appear to thrive well.

" Capellen.
" Michiel.
" Engelings."

" January 17, 1725.

" The trade in gold has increased, as well as the concourse of the native strangers, who came every day to the neighbouring chiefs, with articles for barter. Besides Machicaffres and Paraottis, some men from Chiremandelle, and others, not known to us before, have been here in the last two or three months. We think the last, border on the gold country; but the native accounts of the distance differ, as your Honours will see by the enclosed journal, and list of chief names. Two men of Maplumbo offered lately to go

to Nassangano's country, and thence with some friends to the gold country, to learn its distance from us, if we would give them some beads. We did, and promised them a suit of clothes each; and a further present, if they brought a good report, and would afterwards accompany some of our men thither.

"They set out on the 7th instant, and returned on the morning of the 14th, bringing with them a native of Nondollo's country, having thus made the journey to it in seven days.

"They report that beyond Nassangano's they passed the chiefs, Wonhoudi, Makandi, and Makanje; and reached Nondollo's on the third day. That country, they say, is situated on a great river with a strong current, beyond which are the countries of Loule, Loele, Inthowelle, and Walembi, where, according to their report, the gold is found. They would have gone thither, but a few days' heavy rain had swoln the river too much to be forded, and boats could not be procured. We asked Nondollo's man about those countries, from which his was only separated by this river. He stated it to be generally fordable, being knee-deep; the opposite sides are lofty,* but with a few mountains only.

* "The gold mines are in 23° S. and 31° E. near Magnice. They extend through a spacious champaign, wild, sandy, and barren, about nine miles in circuit, and surrounded with high mountains. The province is called Matue, and the people who dig the mines, Botooge. ... The country is cold in winter."—*Modern Universal History*, p. 393. vol. 30.—Salt describes this gold country thus:—"The country round Manica is extremely fertile, and yields abundance of provisions and cattle. It is very mountainous, and supposed to lie at a great elevation above the sea, the weather at all times being unusually cold for the latitude. Frequent storms of thunder and lightning occur, which are attributed by the Portuguese to the immense quantities of metallic substances with which the country abounds."—*Salt's Abyssinia*, 1814, p. 69.

The soil is rocky, strong, and sandy. Gold is found on the river, and near it, and also farther in the interior. Every year * Mozambiquers come for the gold and ivory, and are expected in three months. These Mozambiquers are of a tawny complexion, and carry the burdens for a few white men who accompany them."

" December 26, 1726.

" With respect to the remark of your Honours, upon our sending the three natives of the Cape, who are now returned by the Spiering Hoeker, we can only humbly say, that no pass to the Cape shall again be given to a single native, without special orders, unless wanted for an absolutely necessary purpose ; nor indeed at all, if we are positively forbidden to allow it upon any account. We beg to excuse the error by stating that we sent the men, in consequence of a rumour which had been set about here, that the slaves from this place were eaten at the Cape; and if we had refused them liberty to come, the belief would have been strengthened of the rumour being

* " The chief mart for gold in the interior is at Manica, about twenty days' journey S. W. from Serra, where an annual fair is held, to which the traders resort with their merchandise."—*Salt's Mozambique*, 1814, p. 67.

A similar statement may be found in the Mod. Un. Hist. p. 368, vol. 30.—" The fortress at Sofala secures the Portuguese their commerce with the Caffres of the land, which is very considerable, as it consists in gold, ambergris, slaves, and elephants' teeth, which they exchange for silk, stuffs, cotton, glass-beads of various makes and colours, and other such trinkets."

Salt ub. sup.—" The trade is carried on here by barter, and the goods most valued are Surat clothes, beads, coarse silks, and iron ; and the returns, besides gold, consist of ivory, glue, and a small quantity of copper." p. 61, and see Bowdich's Mozambique.

well founded. No objections had occurred to us against permitting their voyage, and certainly not those which are mentioned by your Honours; inasmuch as we have here Caffres who speak English very well, having made voyages in English vessels along the coast to Port Natal on the one side, and to Chifalla, above Delagoa, on the other side. We have also others in daily intercourse with the last-mentioned place and its Portuguese inhabitants, who come to the Fort to barter for beads, for which they are eager.

"Your Honours will be surprised to hear that these men returned very much dissatisfied, seeing that your letters state that they left the Cape content—as they well might be, with the clothes and the other presents they had received, as well as the rum and wine sent for their use, and delivered into their hands here. This incident may prove to your Honours the ill character and ingratitude of the people."

In 1726, we find them thus taking notice of the Portuguese pretensions to the country:—"We sent word to the natives to inform the Portuguese, if they should come again to Inhambane, that here, in the country of Maplumbo, a factory of the Dutch East India Company was established, with the consent of the chief of the tribe on the spot; and we felt assured that the Portuguese captain would have nothing to object to this contract, which most of the people knew to have been made."

"REPORT.

"Dated July 3, 1726.

"December 26, 1726.—On the 3d of this month, December, we received a report that two natives from Chire-

mandelle were in one of the neighbouring villages, whither we sent our interpreter to invite them to the Fort; but the chief of the village concealed them, saying, they were gone. The interpreter being sent next day towards Maplumbo, found the strangers where he had before sought them; and, by their own account, they had not left it at all. They came to us, and stated their country to belong to Chiremandelle, which produced gold and copper, was very fertile, rich in cattle, and well provided with means of subsistence from the soil, which they cultivated.

" The countries of Chiremandelle, Paraotti, Machicosje, and Inthowelle, border one on the other, as Maplumbo, Maleky, and Bembo do here. They can reach home from hence in five days; going first to Cherinde, then to the Chief Makoelane, and the third day to Matoeme; the two following days, without coming to villages, till they arrived at home. There is no want of water on the way, as two or three rivers are to be passed, and for the greater part of the road, they follow the course of another. One called himself Waronge, a son of the Chief Chiremandelle; the other, Moccana. Both were well-made, stout young men; and not marked with cuts. Their language appeared to us, to be that of the natives here. They had sold some copper to our natives, and intended to go home in a day or two; but would come again in two or three months, with both gold and copper. We gave to each a string of beads, a piece of linen, and a dram; urging them, with all civility, to return with something of all their productions, and to bring men of other countries with them, which they promised, and departed well pleased. The next day, a man of Maplumbo brought another to us, who said he belonged to Chiremandelle also. His name was Mogondo Mori. His account of

the way and neighbouring people did not differ from what the others gave. But he enlarged upon the riches of the country, saying, they had gold, silver, pewter or tin, copper, and ivory; that asses and pack-oxen were in use to carry merchandise. He said the chief of all the countries was Mookalavepile, who was very rich.

"The inhabitants like red, blue, and white linen; and blue, yellow, and large white beads. Upon seeing a looking-glass, he said, they had plenty of them, brought by dark people with long hair, along the way of Chifalla, whom he called Mootonje, and who brought linen, looking-glasses, and beads, for gold and silver, &c. We repeated to this man the names of all the rivers and countries noted in the journal, dated the 12th of July. All stated therein to be situated on the side of Inthowelle, he knew; but had only heard of those situated behind Inthowelle, towards Isouke.

"He knew nothing of the town of Monomotape; but would bring a countryman of his in two months, who, perhaps, could give an account of it.

"We gave him a similar present to those his two countrymen had received; and charged him to bring, not only the productions of his country, but particularly some of the beasts of burden which he mentioned, and which we would buy. This he promised to do.

"From this man's statement, a nearer road may be found to his country than that by which our party went. When asked if he knew the village of Sangaro and Campance, so often mentioned, he said, 'yes,' as he had been there more than once, but that a quarrel had interrupted the trade between it and the Nassanganos now. He said, that within four days' journey from them, there lay no village, which is probable, as Sangaro is N.W. and more westerly from us;

and, by this man's explanation, Chiremandelle must be N. of us; consequently, the road to this last place, through Sangaro and Campance, must be double the nearer way; because it goes to the west first, and then must turn back again.

"All this will be discovered more and more exactly, in time, if the strangers keep their word; and we shall not neglect to make further enquiries on every occasion that offers; adding now, only, that the dark people, Mootanje, as the Chiremandelles call them, are known to Mainisse and to others, who obtain from them the large yellow Mozambique beads. The country is called Mambani, which can be seen more explicitly in our memorandum sent thereon, upon the 3rd of August, 1723."

"1728.

"The state of our garden is pretty good, considering the great drought. We have lemons from trees planted in 1724. The tamarinds, also, thrive well; and the cocoa-nuts, brought some time ago from Inhambana, and planted, look well. Neither the vine nor grain seems to thrive. The first grain all died. Of the latter, we shall continue to sow from month to month, and report the event."

At this time forty-seven men were sick.

"October 22, 1729.

"We deem it to be of the first moment to acquaint your Honours, that continual wars near us, originate generally from one tribe supposing another to derive greater advantage from our trade than themselves; and that these wars are great impediments to the trade itself, not only by pre-

venting the approach of strangers altogether, but also by exposing people on the way, to be plundered of the articles they bring from the interior towards the Fort, or to be robbed on their return of what they have obtained.

" In consequence of this we have complained, and often threatened the chiefs, but in vain; and there is little prospect that these evils will cease.

" In the first place, our threats have not as yet been followed up; and they know perfectly well, that with so small a force as we have here, little harm can be done to them, as they are about two hundred men to one European; being besides strengthened by the nature of their country, which is covered with jungle and fastnesses.

" In the second place, the neighbouring tribes, not excepting the Sangaarees, are subdivided amongst numerous petty chiefs; not one of whom, however well inclined, has authority to punish offenders, much less to prevent offences, as is done in other countries. The chiefs themselves too are frequently promoters of violence, if they can profit by it, as we have experienced with regard even to petty thefts in and about the Fort.

" Considering, therefore, that this tends not only to the Honourable Company's loss in trade, but is disrespectful to the government, and seeing that, for the foregoing reasons, there is little prospect of other remedy, we recommend that the tribes be reduced to the Company's subjection, and placed under one or two chiefs as our vassals, to be supported by us when troubles arise, and to be punished if they do not suppress such troubles. We are convinced that these steps only will open a free passage to the distant tribes; particularly to the Walembis, Machicaffres, and others, who have lately brought us gold dust, and whom

Sangaree now often stops. Many more inconveniences might be mentioned which these measures will check; and, without them, the Honourable Company's servants will be exposed to perpetual anxiety.

"Capellen, and two others."

At the Company's Fort.—The Perseverance at Rio Delagoa.

"1729.

"In our report of the 15th April, we had the honour to mention the feuds amongst the natives, and the expulsion of Matelle, Makaia, and Mambi, by Tembi and Maplumbo. We have now to state further, that the three vanquished chiefs, aided by Matekey, had re-commenced the war; and on the last day of April, defeated Maplumbo, and drove him into the country of Tembi. On the afternoon of that day, a man of Maplumbo's brought us word that Makaia was in pursuit; and on the road towards a chief named Quambe, not more than an hour and a half eastward of this fort, where the Honourable Company has a cattle-place. This messenger declared, that Makaia had threatened to seize our cattle. A *commando*, therefore, consisting of two serjeants, two corporals, twenty-nine Europeans, and four slaves, under Commandant Monna, was sent to protect the cattle-place, with express orders not to attack the natives unless they should seize the cattle. From this detachment, four Europeans returned, because they could not keep up with the train; and the rest, with Monna at their head, and a native interpreter in his service, were all killed except one of the slaves, within half an hour's distance from the cattle-post.

The fourth slave escaped by flight, although wounded by an *assegay*.

" Upon the first report, the cause of this unfortunate affair was not ascertained, nor how it stood with the cattle-post, and the six men stationed there. But the next day, two of these men came in, and stated that the above-mentioned chiefs had passed them quietly. The slave also who escaped, and two interpreters, with two other natives, who, with our people, agreed in the following account :—

" Monna, as soon as he saw Makaia's people, halted for some of his own men in the rear; and the natives seeing us, halted also, saying amongst themselves, 'The white people do not come against us, but to look after their cattle.' When those in the rear had come up, Serjeant Mulder, who was on one of the wings, ordered his men to fire upon the natives, whether by Monna's direction is uncertain. On this, the natives on that side dispersed, making a gap in their main body, and Mulder with some of his party pressed forward after them. When Mulder had begun, Monna also ordered his division to fire; upon which it is said the natives shouted out in a body—'What, are you come to support Maplumbo ! then shall we also do our best;' and fell on our people with frightful screams, like madmen. In consequence of Mulder being separated from the rest they were enabled to penetrate the body, and to our great affliction, cut them all off.

" If these reports be founded in truth, then were our people the aggressors, and cause of the action; as the natives do not appear to have given the slightest offence, but even suggested that we were only coming to see the cattle. It is further proved sufficiently, that they had no hostile intention; since, although their own principal wealth is cattle,

which also they always first captivate in war, they passed quietly our fine herd, protected by six men only.

"Signed by

"Capellen, and two others."

Soon after this year the Factory was abandoned.

We find Natal about this time mentioned as a place of ordinary resort for slave-ships.

"On the 1st of April, 1719, we arrived at the Cape; and on the 10th sailed for Natal; on the 29th we saw the land, in latitude 29° 20′ south, to the northward of Natal, about eleven leagues off. We sailed a W.S.W. course along the shore, with a gentle breeze; at noon, the point of Natal bore S.W. by W., about two leagues distant. At two P.M. we anchored at 14 fathoms, within two miles off the point of Natal, it bearing W.S.W. The current sets S.S.W. and N.N.E.

"Here we traded for slaves, with large brass rings, or rather collars, and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased 74 boys and girls. These are better slaves for working than those of Madagascar, being not only blacker but stronger.

"Captain White put six natives of Delagoa on shore here, whom he took with him the former voyage. They had two or three kings' dominions to pass through, before they came to their own country, and were under some apprehension of being intercepted. The captain, therefore, furnished them with ammunition, hatchets, and brass collars.

"Here I saw several hundred cattle, like those of Madagascar; but the natives have short woolly hair, like Guinea Negroes, and not like the people of Madagascar."—Adventures of Robert Drury, p. 441.

The account, preserved by Captain Hamilton, of a journey made by a party of 80 seamen, in the 17th century, from Natal, overland, to Cape Town, has been already noticed. A book upon that journey seems to have been published at the time in Holland, and in 1770, Jacob Francken published the adventures of the crew of the Naarstigheid, at Delagoa Bay, for 26 months after a wreck.

The following narrative relates to an English ship :—

" 1756.

" The Doddington was wrecked in Algoa Bay; and after seven months' residence on a rocky island, the crew built a vessel, and sailed for Delagoa Bay.

" On the 16th of February, 1756, they launched their vessel, which they called the ' Happy Deliverance; ' and, at sailing, called the rock on which they were wrecked, ' Bird Island.' They sailed on the 18th for the river St. Lucia, on the coast of Natal. After suffering much from adverse winds, a calm prevailed on the 7th of March, and they cast anchor about three quarters of a mile from a shore, where they saw several natives, who soon came down from the mountains. A black servant, Thomas Arnold, was sent ashore with some beads. Attended by about 40 of the natives, Arnold followed the vessel to a suitable place, and the boat brought him off.

" He reported, that the savages at first appeared very reserved, but, at length, having sat down, they made him sit down among them. He then presented the beads to the oldest, who received them well. On making signs that he wanted food, they supplied him with Indian corn, fruit, and water in a calabash. He added, that they had sent into the country for oxen, and other necessaries.

" The wind continuing westerly, the boat only was sent ashore, which soon returned with food sufficient to serve during four days.

" The vessel coasted along until the 10th of March, and then anchored half a mile from the shore. Several Indians came down to the beach, and invited the people to land, which they considered impracticable. Next morning the natives renewed their invitation, by driving before them a great many goats and bullocks; but it was impossible to land. On the 14th, however, two men requested to be sent ashore, at all risk, saying it was better to live among the savages than to perish of hunger on board. They were put ashore with difficulty, and the vessel advanced two leagues, when a very convenient spot was found, opposite to which the vessel, working close to the land, anchored in five fathom water.

" The boat was then sent ashore with four men, who found the other two, but the surf was so high they could not embark all night.

" In the morning, two braved the extreme violence of the surf, and coming on board, said they had been well received by the natives, who gave them beef and fish to eat, and supplied them with meat.

" An easterly wind rendered it dangerous to remain in this spot, but was favourable for entering the river; accordingly anchor was weighed at eleven in the forenoon, the boat being before sounding. When close to the bar of the river, those ashore made signal to desist, which they did, and anchored. The boat returning, informed them there was only eight feet water on the bar, and that it was necessary to wait for the flowing of the tide.

" At two in the afternoon, sail was again hoisted, and easily entering the river, they cast anchor in two and a half fathom.

" They had never heard of any commerce on this coast; but they carried brass buttons, nails, and iron bolts ashore, with copper hoops, of which they made rings, such as are called bangles by the Indians, for the legs and arms. They shewed these articles, and made signs by imitating the lowing of cattle, and bleating of sheep, that they wished to trade. The Indians quickly comprehended their meaning, and speedily brought two small oxen, which were purchased for a pound of copper and three or four brass buttons. The flesh proved excellent; and the Indians promised to bring more cattle. They likewise sold a great quantity of milk at a very low rate, demanding but a single button for two or three gallons; and a small grain, resembling Guinea corn, which, bruising between two stones, the strangers made into a kind of bread, and baked on hot cinders. This they were in hopes to preserve; but in three days it became mouldy. Nevertheless, the grain, boiled with meat, was salutary food.

" Here they remained about fifteen days, and frequently penetrated the country ten or twelve miles, to the dwellings of the natives, who lived in huts covered with rushes, which formed a kind of thatch. These huts were extremely clean within; and the natives frequently invited their visitors to spend the night there. They testified great friendship towards the Europeans; often ate along with them, and seemed to enjoy their method of preparing food: but they commonly ate the entrails of animals raw. They took much pleasure in going on board the vessel, and repeatedly came up the river in the boat, uniformly displaying a very sociable disposition. They shewed no jealousy; and left their sisters and daughters whole days with the strangers, while rambling about the woods.

" Hunting is their principal occupation, with lances and

two short clubs with a large knob at the end. The river is full of manaties, or sea-cows.

"The natives had a few elephants' tusks, which they would have given for a trifle, but there was not room for them in the vessel.

"They wore little covering in the day, but at night, put on a bullock's hide, well dried and pliable.

"Their chief ornament was a piece of an ox-tail, hung from the rump to the heels, and adorned with sea-shells. They also wore pieces of skin round the knees, ankles, and arms; and anointed the hair with fat and red earth; with which the whole body was also anointed.

"The English were extremely surprised to find, among these savages, who were quite black with woolly hair, a youth about twelve or fourteen, perfectly white, with European features, fine light hair, and altogether different from the natives. He was treated as a servant, sent on errands, and sometimes not allowed to eat with them.

"After their collecting a very considerable quantity of provision, they weighed anchor on the 29th of March, and stood over the bar. But there was a dangerous surf running, which almost broke into the vessel, and becalming their sail, put them in great hazard of being wrecked on the rocks. At length, they got over the bar, and arrived at the River St. Lucia, on the 6th of April.

"Having landed, they soon found that those with whom they were to traffic were very different from the savages they had left. These intimated that they wanted no commodity, but a kind of small bead; nevertheless, when shewn copper buttons, they speedily brought bullocks, fowls, potatoes, gourds, and other provisions. No bullocks could be purchased, because the natives demanded copper rings large enough for collars, in exchange; but they sold fowls and

gourds at a low price, giving five or six of the former, of a large size, for a bit of linen, not worth above fourpence in England.

" Here the English remained three weeks. The natives put the highest value on copper; and, on being shown the handle of an old box, offered two bullocks for it. They appeared very proud and haughty, and not so accommodating as those lately left.

" The English discovered, that the principal chief, in whose hut they had slept, for pay, stole iron from them. Though remaining two days in the interior, the English could never prevail on the natives to eat with them. These differed from the other natives in the method of preparing their food, which was here done with greater neatness; they were likewise more cleanly in their persons, and bathed every morning, apparently as an act of devotion, nothing of which was observed among the others. They wore no kind of ornament similar to them: their chief pride seemed to be to keep their hair in great order. They watched strictly over their women. Their arms, however, resembled those of the others, as did their diversions. Men were seen among them, who came from Delagoa, trading in ambergris and elephants' tusks.

"At seven in the morning of the 18th of May, they set sail. About a quarter of an hour before high water, when almost on a bar crossing the river, some imprudently lowered the sail, and dropped anchor on a sand-bank. Nine men got away in the boat, declaring they would live with the savages rather than lose their lives in passing the bar. The others, at length, weighed anchor again, trusting to save the vessel, and were soon among the breakers. Here they were in great danger; there were only eight feet of water, while the

vessel drew five. In about half an hour, the sea became smooth, and they left the River St. Lucia safe.

"On the 20th, they anchored in five fathom in Delagoa River, and ultimately reached Madras, being rejoined by some of the nine men, who had come by land to Delagoa Bay."

This is not so full as the original narrative, to be met with in the cotemporary magazines.

About this period a Dutch ship, the Naarstigheid, was wrecked on the eastern coast; her crew remained there many months, and an account of their adventures in the country was published in Holland in 1770.

In 1763 Hubner published his "Present State of Africa" also, in Dutch; and describes this eastern coast as well known. He gives considerable details of its condition, and seems to have derived his acquaintance with it from the sources already noticed. The Cape Colony had also, at this time, for 20 years, an excellent governor in Tulbagh, whose expeditions to the eastward deserve to be better known. Accounts of them may probably be found at the Cape, or in the records in Holland. It was a great mistake in the travellers, from Paterson downwards, to suppose Caffreland had never been penetrated until their time.

From the journal of Colonel Collins, of a mission towards the river Kei, in 1809, noticed in this Appendix No. 12, as well as from the foregoing records, it may be collected what unpublished stores may be found upon this country.

In 1782 the Grosvenor was lost within a few miles south of Port Natal. An expedition was sent, in the same year, by the Cape Government to seek for the crew; but the report of the party does not seem to have been printed. In 1792, Captain Riou published the journal of one of a

second party, who reached the wreck eight years afterwards. A few of the sailors had previously escaped, and gave an account of the country they passed through to the Cape Colony, which was introduced into narratives published in London in 1783 and 1790. They shew the country to have been full of people, often fertile, and not ill-watered.

From the several accounts published relative to this wreck, and from the tradition of some who were of the party of 1790, it seems probable that some females from a French ship were the mothers of the mulattoes, then and recently seen in that country.

Van Reenen's journal, published by Captain Riou, is introduced, with a calculation, which has since filled most of the maps with errors.

"If it had been possible," says Captain Riou, "to give the exact track Van Reenen travelled, it would have been right to have laid it down in the map. But as it is not practicable to trace every winding of the way, in order to ascertain, as well as is in our power, how far to the north-east our travellers proceeded, whereby we may know in what latitude the Grosvenor was wrecked, a *straight line* of 150 leagues and two miles (being two miles only allowed for each of the 226 hours travelled outward) was extended from the Great Fish River; and where it intersected the line of coast, there is marked the place of the wreck, in latitude 27°. But as the return home contains only 197 hours, the same mode of computation, by allowing two miles to each hour, brings the wreck into the latitude of 28°. It is more than probable that the ship was wrecked somewhere between these two latitudes; which is corroborated by the account, given in the journal, of Rio Delagoa being at the distance of 40 or 50 hours."—Introduction, xii, xiii.

The substance of the journal is as follows:—

" *A Journal of a Journey towards the River Anderadeira de Natal, or Cape Natal, where the Ship was wrecked.*— *p.* 15.

1790.

Sept. 11. 7*h.* " Left the place of Stephanus Scheepers in the Winterhoek and in seven hours arrived at the Groote River, which falls into the Camtoo's.

—— 12. 8*h.* " Thence for eight hours to the Wolves Fonteyn.

—— 13. 10*h.* " From which place, in ten hours, we arrived at the Sunday River.

—— 14. 5*h.* " In five hours travelled over the Bruintjes heights in the Caroo Veld.

—— 16. 7*h.* " Thence onward, seven hours, to Bosjeman's River.

—— 17. 10*h.* " Forded the Bosjeman, and reached H. J. Rensburg's in ten hours.

—— 22. 3*h.* " Proceeded three hours to the Brakke River.

—— 24. 4*h.* " In four hours arrived at the Little Fish River, with ten waggons, (each provided with double teams) 56 horses, and 40 armed Hottentots, and a boat.

—— 25. 3*h.* " Proceeded three hours to the Great Fish River.

—— 26. 4*h.* " Arrived in four hours at the spring called Kruyer's Kraal, the boundary of the Christians and Caffres.

—— 27. 5*h.* " We got on this day to a little brook, to which we gave the name of Punch.

1790.

Sept. 28. 8*h*. "We travelled hence eight hours, and passing over a small brook, called Caaga, came to a vast plain, extending as far as a river called Kaapna, or Fine Meadows; which name it highly merits from its delightful situation. The whole country is intersected with rivulets, capable of overflowing the adjacent meadows; and possesses every requisite for becoming a most convenient and charming settlement.

—— 29. 6*h*. "Proceeded six hours.

—— 30. 7*h*. "Travelled seven hours to the Kat River, or Caffres' or Hottentots' Hunca River; and arrived at the first Caffres' Kraal, where we were visited by several of those people. In the evening we posted a night watch.

Oct. 1. 8*h*. "Passed another brook at the beginning of the Keiskamma, where several Caffres came to us from their chief, Capt. Sambee. We sent two of our people (Caffres) to him, to ask permission to travel through his country, and that he would supply us with interpreters. Passed another small brook, and arrived at the Keiskamma. We travelled this day eight hours.

—— 2. 7*h*. "Proceeded seven hours; during which we saw several Caffres. We determined *to leave this country*, and get over the Caffre mountain as soon as possible, dreading otherwise encountering delays, or worse consequences; as these people were at war with each other, Sambee being opposed to Capt. Iacaa.

1790.

" The two Caffres we had sent to Sambee returned with a message that he was sick, and informing us that the country to which we were destined was dangerous and difficult to pass.

" After procuring two Caffres as guides, we crossed the river Keysana.

Oct. 3. 5*h*. " Ascended the mountain, for five hours.

—— 4. 5*h*. " Proceeded five hours; but, to effect a passage over the mountain, we cut our way through a large wood.

" Three Caffres came to accompany us on our journey.

—— 5. 10*h*. " Having got over the mountain, and passed through a branch of the Black Key river, Hommonpoefoege, we arrived in the Bosjemans' land, at a small brook, where the Bosjemans had painted, in the cavities of the rocks, very natural resemblances of several wild beasts; amongst them was also that of a soldier, with a grenadier's cap.

—— 6. 8*h*. " We proceeded eight hours to a river called the White Key. Vander Waldt saw three Bosjemans, and caught one. We gave him a bunch of beads and a piece of tobacco; and, letting him go, he promised to return to shew us the way.

—— 8. 4*h*. " Crossed the White Key, and in four hours arrived at a plain country.

—— 9. 5*h*. " Rode five hours over a fine plain, and passed a river still called White Key.

—— 10. 5*h*. " Proceeded five hours, and again crossed the White Key.

1790.

Oct. 11. 5*h*. "Travelled five hours, and passed another river.

—— 12. 5½*h*. "In five hours and a half we came to the River Somoe.

"This is the last that discharges itself into the Key, which is the largest river running through Caffreland; and has always checked the progress of former travellers.

—— 13. 5*h*. "Passed the Somoe, and in five hours came into the country of the Tamboekis.

—— 14. 7*h*. "Arrived at the Doe, or Mud River, in seven hours.

—— 15. 4*h*. "Proceeded four hours.

—— 16. 9*h*. "Travelled nine hours.

—— 17. 3*h*. "Travelled three hours, and halted. During our stay, several Tamboekis visited us, with their Chief Joobie, and Louve, subject to him. We gave them presents, and procured three Tamboekis as guides.

—— 20. 5*h*. "We proceeded five hours, passing a river called Nabagana.

—— 21. 5*h*. "Travelling onward five hours, and ascending a great height, we saw a large river called Basjie, about two hours from us; but to which we could not descend, owing to the steepness of the approach.

—— 23. 5*h*. "Proceeded five hours; but were obliged to go a great way about to avoid precipices.

—— 24. 5*h*. "Rode onward five hours to the river Basjie, which comes from far inland.

—— 25. 3*h*. "Forded the river, and proceeded three hours.

1790.

Oct. 26. 7*h*. "Passed over a very steep mountain,* and in seven hours came to a river called Nooga.

—— 28. 6*h*. "Forded the Nooga; when we saw the sea about the distance of two hours off. We now passed the Nodei; and had this day travelled six hours.

—— 29. 7*h*. "In seven hours we reached the river Tathaa, where we were visited by two of the Tamboekis, which was something extraordinary, as ever since the 18th instant, when we parted with Joobie, we had seen no natives; this tract of country having been depopulated by Sambee's father, Chacabee Camboesa, who drove them and all their cattle into his own territory. Such few as are at present remaining hide themselves in the woods and caves, and live solely on sea-weed, and what they can procure by hunting.

—— 30. 6*h*. "Passing the Tathaa, which is very large, we came, in six hours, to the Dombie, or Young Maiden River.

—— 31. 4*h*. "Travelled four hours to the Tasana, a river which stopped the party seven years before.

Nov. 1. 4*h*. "Passed the river, and went four hours, cutting our way through two woods.

—— 2. 2*h*. "Travelled two hours.

—— 3. "We went to a height whence we saw several

* This was the line of the late campaign, probably.

1790.

villages of the Hambonaas, a nation quite different from the Caffres; of a yellowish complexion, and with long coarse hair, frizzed on their heads like a turban. We sent a present to the chief, Camboosa. Five came to us. They told us, that *subject* to them was a village of Bastaard Christians, who were descended from people shipwrecked on that coast, and of which three old women were still living, whom Oemtononee, the Hambonaa captain, had taken as his wives.

Nov. 4. 1*h*. "Proceeded an hour, and rode to the beforementioned village, where we found the people that were descended from whites, some too from slaves of mixed colour, and the natives of the East Indies. We also met with the three old women, who said they were sisters, and had when children been wrecked on this coast, but could not say of what nation they were, being too young to know at the time the accident happened.

—— 5. 7*h*. "We travelled seven hours, and passed the Little Mogassie, on the banks of which is situated the Bastaard village, where they have very extensive handsome gardens, planted with Caffre corn, maize, sugar-canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other things. They had also some cattle.

"We crossed also the Great Mogassie River, where Camboosa, the Hambonaa captain, resides.

1790.

Nov. 6. 7*h*. "Proceeded seven hours, near to a very large river called Sinwoewoe, or Sea-Cow River.

—— 7. 2*h*. "Arrived at the river in two hours. It was too deep to pass on account of the flood, and we waited for the ebbing of the tide.

—— 8. 2*h*. "The natives brought us here some gold and silver to exchange for red beads and copper articles, of which they were very fond. This day we proceeded two hours.

—— 9. 4*h*. "We rode four hours to the river Woewanpoevoe.

—— 10. 5*h*. "Passed this river, and proceeded to the river Tanwoeta.

—— 12. 3*h*. "We travelled three hours, and cut our way through a wood.

—— 13. 2*h*. "We passed through that wood, and soon came to another, which we cut through.

—— 14. 3*h*. "Proceeded three hours, and crossed the river Bogassie; here the *natives* brought us potatoes, sugar-canes, corn, and beans, with gold and silver, for beads.

—— 15. 4*h*. "Travelling onwards, we passed a little brook near the sea, and came to a height that we could not pass without great danger and difficulty; and where *we learnt* that the wreck was not far off. The wreck lay four hours from this spot, in which distance there were seven little rivers to pass, for which we had no name.

"We understood *from the natives* that the greatest part of the goods had been conveyed to Rio Delagoa to be sold; which

1790.

place, as well as we could learn, was four days, or 40 or 50 hours off.

" We saw five cannon and a great quantity of iron ballast.

" The natives hereabouts expressed very great astonishment at our taking such great pains to come in search of the unfortunate crew; and the chief, and indeed the whole of them in general, promised that if any similar disaster should happen, they would protect and take care of the crew that might come on shore, and conduct them to us for beads, copper, and iron, for so doing, which we promised.

" From the place where the waggons halted, we travelled twelve hours inland on horseback, crossed seven rivers ; the waggons, at the same time, proceeded homewards, 17 hours, to the Bogassie.

Nov. 19. 5*h*. " Went five hours.

—— 20. 8*h*. " Passing the Tanwoeta and Woewanpoevoe in eight hours, we arrived at the Sinwoewoe.

—— 21. " At night our outposts gave an alarm of our being watched by the natives, upon which we fired several times in the air, and heard no more of them. That day above 200 of them had been with us, with gold and silver to barter.

—— 24. 8*h*. " We passed the Sinwoewoe, and in eight hours arrived at the Great Mogassie River.

—— 26. 8*h*. " Having passed it, and the Little Mogassie, we reached the Bastaard Christian Village in eight hours. I would now have taken

1790.

the three old women with us, but they mentioned their desire of waiting till their harvest time, to gather in their crops; adding, that for this reason they would at present rather remain with their children and grand-children; after which, with their whole race, to the amount of 400, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement. I concluded, by promising that I would give a full account of them to the Government of the Cape, in order that they might be removed from their present situation. It is to be observed, that on our visit to these women, they appeared to be exceedingly agitated at seeing people of their own complexion and description."

We shall see that these people have been visited by the Wesleyan missionaries in 1829.

Dec. 17. 5*h*. "This day we passed the White Key, and proceeded five hours.

—— 18. 7*h*. "Thence seven hours.

—— 19. 8*h*. "We now passed the Black Key, having travelled eight hours.

—— 20. 8½*h*. "We arrived in the Bonte Buck plain. Getting on eight hours and a half we passed two more rivers, which discharge themselves into the Black Key, and have the same name; which that river has acquired from the rocks about it being of that colour.

—— 21. 9½*h*. "Proceeded nine hours and a half a-crossing the Caffre mountain, came into the country of the Great Caffres of Sambee.

1790.

Dec. 22. 7*h.* "Travelling seven hours homeward, we crossed the Keiskamma, and another small river running into it.

—— 23. 7*h.* "This day we passed the Kat, or Hunca, and in seven hours the Little Doorn River.

—— 24. 8*h.* "Hence, in eight hours, we reached the Kaapna.

—— 25. 11*h.* "Crossed the Caaga, which runs into the Kaapna, and in eleven hours reached Willem Bota's.

—— 26. 7½ *h.* "Thence we passed the Great and Little Fish Rivers, and the Quammadaka, and in seven hours and a half, H. J. Van Rensburg on the Bosjeman River."

Several other ships have been wrecked upon this coast; but it was not until 1824 that a serious attempt was made to settle any part of it.

In that year, Lieutenant Farewell of the Royal Navy, formed a plan for that purpose, which is sufficiently explained in the following letters:—

Letter from Mr. Farewell to the Governor of the Cape.

"Cape Town, May 1, 1824.

"My Lord,

"In consequence of your Lordship's wish, that I should communicate in writing my plans, relative to the speculation I am at present undertaking to the south-east coast of Africa, I beg leave to submit the following remarks for your perusal.

" Having felt convinced, that a trade might be established with the natives on the coast, between the Cape Frontier and Delagoa Bay, I last year went to a considerable expense in trying to form an intercourse, as well as to ascertain the capabilities of the country; but in consequence of its being a dangerous coast, and of our losing four men, drowned in attempting to land, as well as of want of provisions, after a few months' absence, we were obliged to return, without accomplishing our object; and, by chartering two vessels for the occasion, we sustained a very considerable loss.

" Towards the conclusion of my last voyage, we found a port, where a small vessel can lie perfectly secure; and I am therefore induced to venture another trial, hoping, that by making some stay there, we may get the natives to bring their produce to exchange for our goods; which, in time, might lead to important advantages. My intentions are to keep a vessel constantly lying in port; and to have a small party on shore to communicate with the natives, and carry on the trade.

" The natives have already requested that we would come and traffic with them; and, probably, by a constant intercourse, we shall eventually lead to a commerce of importance to the colony, and advantageous to ourselves.

" For the purposes I have mentioned, it is necessary that we should take a larger proportion of people than are required to navigate the vessel; and, consequently, we have about twenty-five persons, including principals and servants, besides her crew.

" I hope your Lordship will conceive that our present undertaking is entitled to every encouragement, being one of much hazard; and, if successful, likely to lead to important advantages to the colony in furnishing articles of

export, as well as new sources of trade; and tending to civilise many populous nations hitherto unknown to Europeans. I am therefore convinced, that in case of our having to solicit your Lordship's aid on any future occasion to forward these views, we shall meet with that patronage and assistance, which your disposition to promote enterprizes beneficial to the colony will prompt.

" (Signed) F. G. Farewell.

" To His Excellency the Governor."

Reply to the last Letter.

" Colonial Office, May 5, 1821.

" Sir,

" I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and to acquaint you that his Excellency acquiesces in your taking the persons with you to the south-east coast of Africa, whom you state to be necessary to prosecute your commercial undertaking there.

" His Excellency will hear with great satisfaction, that your endeavours to establish a commercial intercourse, and to lay the ground for civilising the inhabitants of that part of South Africa have been successful; but his Excellency begs that you will clearly understand, that all your intercourse with the natives must be conducted in a conciliatory manner, and upon fair terms of barter; and that he cannot sanction the acquisition of any territorial possession, without a full communication being made to him of the circumstances under which they may be offered, and be intended to be received.

" (Signed) P. G. Brink.

" To Mr. Farewell."

Letter from Mr. Farewell to the Governor of the Cape.

" Port Natal, September, 1824.

" My Lord,

" In consequence of your Lordship's kind wishes for the success of my undertaking to Natal, I beg leave to intrude on your Lordship a sketch of my proceedings since arriving here.

" I communicated with Chaka, king of the Zulus, to whom belongs the whole of the country from Natal to Delagoa Bay, extending inland, according to their account, some hundreds of miles. After some difficulty, I obtained permission to visit him, and proceeded with a small party above one hundred and fifty miles N.N.E. from Port Natal to his residence; and had the pleasure of being the first European ever here. The king received us, surrounded by a large number of his chiefs, and above 8 or 9000 armed men, observing a state and ceremony in our introduction that we little expected. His subjects, over whom he has the most despotic authority, appeared to treat him with such submission and respect, as to rank him far above any chief, I believe at present known in South Africa; whilst the nations he governs are, in manners, customs, and mode of ornamenting themselves, so different from any hitherto known, as at once to astonish and please us.

" I had an opportunity of holding frequent interviews with the king, who seemed particularly pleased at hearing my intention in coming to Natal was to remain there, making me a sale and grant of part of his country in that neighbourhood, of which I beg leave to forward your Lordship a copy through my agent, Mr. J. R. Thomson. He at the same time gave us a number of cattle for our support. He like-

wise expressed a wish to send two of his chiefs to the Cape, for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation, which I have to request your Lordship's permission for doing. We had an opportunity of further gaining his friendship, by curing him of a dangerous wound he received since we have been here; and I trust I shall, by frequent communications, and a studious endeavour to avoid giving offence, increase his and his subjects' confidence in us.

"The territory he has made over is nearly depopulated, not containing more than three or four hundred souls, who appear much pleased at the manner of its disposal, of which they have been informed by Chaka. The climate seems perfectly healthy, with a good soil fit for any purposes, and well wooded and watered, four rivers of magnitude running through it into the sea; which, from their depth and width, seem to derive their sources from a considerable distance inland, and to afford the means of communicating there by water. The portion granted me affords every prospect of being a most desirable one for settlers, of whom a few families could protect themselves if necessary; and support could be derived for any number, the rivers abounding in fish, and cattle being to be had at a very moderate rate.

"I beg leave, therefore, to suggest to your Lordship, that many of that class at the Cape, particularly agriculturists, who appear to be living in great distress, would here find a comfortable asylum, and the means of much benefiting themselves and families, as well as the English nation, by forming a colony on a spot so well adapted for civilising, and establishing a trade with the interior of South Africa; which amongst other benefits to be expected from it, will eventually occasion a large consumption of English staple

manufactures. It possesses a port, the only one on the coast, where vessels drawing nine feet water can at all times enter, and be as secure as in a wet dock; whilst those of a greater draught are protected from a westerly wind by a point that projects out some distance, forming a bay, in which there is good anchorage outside the bar. The distance from the Cowie is so small, that a vessel after discharging her cargo there, at a very trifling expense would land passengers at Natal.

" I took possession of the country, made over according to the tenor of the document forwarded to your Lordship, on the 27th of August, and hoisted the English colours, and fired a salute in presence of a number of Chaka's chiefs; which proceeding, I trust, will meet with your Lordship's approbation and sanction, as well as those of the English government.

" Your Lordship is already informed, that commercial pursuits, and a wish to obtain a knowledge of this country, were my objects in coming here; and the benefit to be derived from my present grant of land, with the power of keeping the little trade that at present exists, in my own hands, I look to as the means of reimbursing the great expenses I have been at. I trust your Lordship will see the propriety of my being invested with some authority over persons residing here; as without it, it will be impossible to prevent irregularities and disturbances, amongst themselves, as well as the natives; which would not fail to be attended with fatal consequences.

" (Signed) F. G. Farewell.

" To His Excellency the Governor."

Lieutenant Farewell's Settlement at Port Natal.

"The following interesting sketch of Lieutenant Farewell's Settlement at Port Natal has been furnished by a gentleman, on whose knowledge of the facts and accuracy, full reliance may be placed. The intentions of the Colonial Government respecting this enterprise are not known.—*Cape Paper.*

"In the latter part of 1823, Mr. Farewell and Mr. Alex. Thomson accompanied me in the Salisbury, on a voyage to the East coast. Having arrived in the neighbourhood where we intended to commence operations, we attempted several parts, when it appeared impossible to land. The boats were then sent on shore at St. Lucia, on the coast of Fumos; but Mr. Farewell's upset, and he, although considerably bruised, miraculously escaped being drowned. Several days after, Mr. Thomson met with a similar accident, his boat being overwhelmed when nearly a mile from the beach; they all gained the shore by swimming, except three poor fellows who perished in the attempt. We now determined on abandoning this place, our views being directed to another quarter: several weeks having elapsed, we ran into Port Natal, but the voyage proving altogether unsuccessful, we returned to the Cape of Good Hope. The Salisbury and Julia, our tender, were the first vessels that entered that port during the life-time of the oldest inhabitants. Mr. Farewell again, in April 1824, joined by two others, with a party of about twenty-five people, fitted out for another expedition to this port. However, these new adventurers not

finding trade as brisk as they anticipated, took the earliest opportunity of returning, and left Mr. Farewell to carry his projects into effect alone. He was joined by Mr. Flin, then by three white people and ten Hottentots, from which time, till the arrival of the Mary, they had suffered intensely. Mr. Flin has shared largely in these sufferings; he has undauntedly penetrated forests, passed through nations, and frequently with no other than black companions. Several attempts have been made on this gentleman's life, one of which is worthy of remark. Being a few miles' distance from a tribe, he sent a messenger to say he was friendly, and would advance. No sooner had they received this intelligence, than people were despatched to kill him while asleep. However, the chief who had this task to perform, finding, to his surprise, that he only differed in colour from themselves, said, 'I am commanded by my chief to put an end to you,' as no white creatures would be allowed to enter his territory; 'but I see you are equal to us, therefore feel yourself secure, at least from the weapon which is in my hand.' Regardless of the remonstrances of the savage, Mr. Flin insisted on making his way to the nation, which he accomplished, and was tolerably well received. He naturally felt much attached to those who thus spared his life, and they are now living under Mr. Farewell.

"King Chaka, of the Zulus, has granted to Mr. Farewell about 35 miles of coast, including Natal, and about 100 miles inland, for some consideration in manufactures, &c. and assures the white people of his protection. He has also allowed Mr. F. about 450 people to cultivate the land, and to do whatever he may require of them. Mr. Farewell's fort and house are by this time finished: within the fort he keeps his cattle, of which he has a good stock. It is of a triangu-

lar form; at each angle one gun is to be placed: the house is built of wood, about 60 feet by 20, and has six tolerably good rooms. This settlement is situated on the N.W. side of the harbour; and the king has named it after himself. Mr. Farewell's party are much respected by Chaka, and in fact by the whole nation.

"The settlement of the crew of the Mary* is on the S.E. part, the most eligible spot we could find for building; it consists of five huts, built in the native style, and one store-house. A vessel, when I left, was nearly two-thirds finished, built of excellent wood, having used no part of the wreck, except the bolts, &c.

"Much praise is due to Mr. Hutton, and also to that part of the crew which remained, for their steadiness and obedience.

"By request of Chaka, we fitted out a small boat, and sent her with a party of his people, a distance of about 80 miles, accompanied by Messrs. Flin and Isaacs, (the latter wrecked in the Mary) and two seamen, for the purpose of enabling his Majesty to cross a river (the Tutugall). At the same time we found the figure-head of the Mary, a female bust. Several days before my departure, we heard of their arrival.

"Port Natal is easy of access for vessels drawing not more than eight feet of water, and on the last of the flood-tide; it has on its bar eleven feet at high water spring-tides; at times it exceeds that depth.

"This harbour is perfectly sheltered from all winds, and is sufficiently large to contain at least thirty sail. The Cape forms a spacious bay, where ships may ride in safety, with

* The Mary, a vessel commanded by the writer, and wrecked at Natal.

S. W. and westerly winds, in from nine to eleven fathom, sandy bottom. The best anchorage is when the Cape bears S. by W., half W. or S.S.W., at the distance of a mile and a half.

" Having collected from the Mary every thing we could see a possibility of saving, and made arrangements for building a small vessel, which appeared an arduous undertaking, on account of our very limited means, and the principal part of the carpenter's tools being lost, I accompanied Messrs. Farewell, Flin, and several seamen, with about forty natives, on a journey to King Chaka, of the Zulu nation. On the eighth day, after having travelled about 135 miles through a most picturesque country, and crossed several rivers, we arrived at the summit of a mountain, from which our view was particularly grand and imposing. We could distinguish the king's residence, and numerous other kraals, on an extensive plain, encompassed by a chain of hills. Shortly afterwards, we came to a brook where we refreshed, and put ourselves in proper apparel to meet the king. At about eight at night, we arrived at the entrance of his kraal, and were soon admitted. Afterwards we were taken to his private residence, gave the *customary salute* of the nation, which, not being answered, was repeated. A domestic now informed us, that the king was holding an *en-daba* (an harangue) with his warriors; we then proceeded in order, and soon discovered his Majesty centred among his subjects, and surrounded by large fires. We stood for a few minutes, while the chief who accompanied us, addressed himself to the king relative to our mission; after which we were desired to advance, presented our presents, and seated ourselves on the ground, at about six yards' distance from him. During this interview, his discourse was principally on war,

owing to his enemies being at hand; however, he soon permitted us to retire to the huts which had been prepared us. He soon afterwards dismissed his people, and retired to his private kraal; we then received a message, requesting we would attend there. Here our reception was very different from the former; he now cast off his stern look, became good-humoured, and conversed through our interpreters on various subjects. A large basket of boiled beef, and several earthen pots of milk, were ordered to be placed before us, of which we ate heartily. After this hospitable entertainment we expressed a wish to retire, which he very readily assented to, on account of our being much fatigued. The following day we again waited upon him, and found him seated upon his mat, lecturing his people; we shortly withdrew, and rambled about the greater part of this day, and in the evening were highly entertained by his warriors singing war and other songs. At the king's request, we laid a train of powder, to show its effect; after several other amusements, he retired, expressing himself much pleased.

"The following morning proved excessively hot, so much so, that it was scarcely possible to stir about; we therefore kept within our hut; the king, however, feeling no inconvenience from it, sent for our sailors, and proposed their going with him, and numbers of his people, to hunt the elephant. These men being aware of their inability, and having only lead balls, prudently declined, and said they could not go without consulting us. The king immediately desired the interpreter to say they were afraid; they soon convinced him to the contrary, by taking up their muskets and following him. Half an hour or more had elapsed, before Mr. Farewell and myself were made acquainted with this proceeding. Feeling satisfied that it was done alone to convince his nation of the insufficiency of our

arms, of which we were equally aware, particularly with such animals, we immediately went in pursuit of them, and soon fell in with the king, seated under a large tree, from which he had a complete view of the valley out of which they intended to start the elephant: we took our station about 200 yards from him, under a smaller tree, waiting impatiently, yet dreading the event. Two hours had nearly elapsed, when a messenger presented to the king the tail of an elephant, at which they all appeared greatly surprised; he was desired to bring it to us, and say the white people had killed the animal. As it may be supposed, we could scarcely credit the fact, but hastened towards the forest to join our people, and met them almost exhausted; we, notwithstanding, had the satisfaction of congratulating each other upon what appeared to us almost a miracle. It appears that the natives started the elephant from the forest to a plain, when the sailors placed themselves directly before the animal: the first shot entered under the ear, when it became furious; the other lodged near the fore shoulder, after which it fell, and soon expired. Had this affair turned out differently, we should, in all probability, have been held in a contemptible light by this nation, and awkward consequences might have resulted to the settlement.

"In the evening, at the request of the king, we joined in their amusements, and could not ourselves possibly avoid singing, and commenced with 'God Save the King:' on our explaining its literal meaning, Chaka was highly pleased; in fact, there was nothing but good humour to be observed in the countenances of every one present: the party broke up at a late hour, and, as is usual, in the morning, we paid the king an early visit. We now expressed a wish to see him in his war-dress; he immediately retired, and in a short time returned; his dress consists of monkey skins, in three

folds from his waist to the knee, from which two white cow's tails are suspended, as well as from each arm; round his head a neat band of fur, stuffed, in front of which is placed a tall feather, and on each side a bunch variegated. He advanced with his shield, an oval about four feet in length, and an *umconto*, or spear, when his warriors commenced a war-song, and he began his manœuvres. Chaka is about thirty-eight years of age, upwards of six feet in height, and well proportioned; he is allowed to be the best pedestrian in the country, and, in fact, during his wonderful exercises this day he exhibited the most astonishing activity. On this occasion he displayed a part of the handsomest beads of our present. These amusements lasted only a short time. * * *

" During our stay many incredible remarks took place on his part, which I feel some hesitation in relating. The day having arrived for our departure, he made us a present of 107 head of cattle: we then took our leave, with a promise of returning as early as possible. On our way to Natal, we found the rivers more difficult to cross than before; in attempting one, my worthy companions nearly lost their lives. This river was setting out with great rapidity; being anxious to gain some huts on the opposite side before night, I and several others with some difficulty succeeded. Mr. Farewell, in stepping from one rock to another, was carried away by the stream into a most perilous situation: Mr. Flin, with his accustomed bravery, being near, plunged in, followed by several natives, to Mr. Farewell's assistance; the current carried them all a considerable distance, when they came in contact with a body of reeds attached to the bottom, which caused an eddy; here they remained several minutes, when they attempted to swim for the bank, in which they providentially succeeded. These rivers are infested with alligators, which are constantly destroying the natives.

" On the 7th day after our departure from king Chaka, after an irksome journey, we arrived at our residence at Natal.

" History perhaps does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka. His subjects fall at his word; he is acknowledged to be the most powerful ruler for many hundred miles. He came to the throne after the death of his father; his elder brother should have succeeded him, but through some treachery on his part he got him put to death, and it therefore devolved upon Chaka. He has reigned about eight years, during which time he has conquered and laid waste the whole country between the Hammapondos, nearly 200 miles S.W. of Natal, and the southern and most western parts of Delagoa. He has under him many tributary kings, and the only powerful enemy he has now to contend with is Escon-yana, whose territories lie N.W. of the Mapoota; he has gathered all his forces, with an intention of destroying Chaka. Several attempts have been made, but have always been repulsed. The Zulus are now preparing for an advance upon them, and but little doubt is entertained that they will succeed, although the enemy exceeds them by many thousands. Chaka's strict discipline and method of attack is such that nothing in their warfare can possibly withstand the attack of the Zulus. His warriors in their war-dress are similar to his own; he differs only in his feather, and they are distinguished in the different divisions by coloured shields: they charge with a single *umconto*, or spear, and each man must return with it from the field, or bring that of his enemy, otherwise he is sure to be put to death.

" The country of Fumos throughout is most picturesque, and the soil apparently very prolific; it abounds in different sorts of valuable wood, and in various descriptions of ani-

mals, several of which pay only nocturnal visits; wolves and tigers infest the country, and destroy numbers of the natives. Nine dogs during my stay at Natal fell a prey to them, three of which were literally torn from Mr. Farewell's house, and others taken in our sight. The climate is extremely hot, though the air is clear and salubrious.

"There are several rivers of some magnitude inland, but they are not navigable on account of their bars being shoal; all the rivers in this country abound with alligators."

The writer of the foregoing narrative was Captain King, who had been a midshipman in the Guerriere in 1812. He was a good navigator; and it is to be regretted that his drawings and plans of this coast are not published. He died at Natal, after four years' residence, in 1828. One of his manuscripts is as follows:—

"Early in October, 1825, I started from Natal with the party; also two horses of the country. For three miles beyond Natal we travelled over a beautiful plain, interspersed with trees, to the river Omgani, which we crossed with ease. We proceeded about two miles to a long and dreary beach, about 18 miles over. Beyond it we turned off inland, and went about seven miles on a hard path, reaching the wished-for hut at about nine o'clock at night.

"The land, though low, rises abruptly, and was bushy almost throughout this day, except at the entrance of the rivers, which were three, the Sto'tee, Umsloota, and Umlungos; neither of which is navigable.

"The country was once well cultivated and populous; but the tribe has been destroyed by Chaka.

"Next day we passed a beautiful country, covered with verdure and trees, to the Umsloota, which is much infested

by alligators; and here a man of ours was killed by one, being literally bitten in two in the middle of the stream. We travelled about eighteen miles.

"Next day we passed over a similar country, but without trees; having, however, innumerable herds of cattle. We saw a large river, the Ma-fo-tu, winding through these meadows. At night, the chief of a kraal killed a bullock for us, and gave us Indian corn, beer, milk, &c. In the morning, we gave him a small present, for which he appeared quite thankful.

"Near this kraal the country varied. Within a mile there is a chain of hills to the left: to the right, a beautiful plain with prickly gum-trees, with which this country abounds. We next day came to a rocky river, the Nonota, dangerous to cross when more than knee-deep. We were troubled at night by rats, fleas, cockroaches, and musquitoes.

"Next morning we descended a hill, and crossed the river, as the water had fallen. The country near is exceedingly beautiful with shady gum-trees dispersed over green meadows, and enlivened by cattle, occasionally Guinea fowls, Caffre cranes, and a variety of animals.

"Next day we crossed the river Cin-quass, and several rivulets, stopping at the Tutugall, a river of some magnitude, within the bar. It is said to be the largest coast of Natal. It is serpentine and very majestic, full of alligators and sea-cows of a large size.

"From a hill beyond this river we next day saw the Loong-gou mountains in the distance, terminating the plain before us. A few miles beyond which is Chaka's residence, two days off.

"The country beyond the Tutugall is without trees, and other advantages, but is pretty. We saw many animals

like deer, and this day crossed the En-yonce; and beyond soon reached King Mo-yaka's kraal. He received us well, and killed a bullock for us, providing whatever else the country afforded.

"Mo-yaka possessed this country a few years back; but being conquered by Chaka, now lives on friendly terms with him as his vassal captain."

The following note from the manuscript of another gentleman who was at Natal in 1826, gives a slight account of the north-east interior.

"Tuesday.—We travelled from Chaka's kraal N.N.W., over high hills and mountains, and in the evening slept at a kraal.

"Wednesday.—After travelling in the same direction, over a similar country, we arrived at a large kraal.

"Thursday.—We travelled in the same direction, and over a similar country, covered with aloes and thorn-trees, with a few large wild fig-trees. We slept at a small, but very neat kraal, being much superior to any I had hitherto seen.

"Friday.—We soon crossed a river, called Umlamba Enslopa (White River), whose course seems to be to the S.E., until it empties itself into the River St. Lucia; and with another, called Umlamba Imama (Black River), increases that river to a considerable size, it being very deep and broad, about 15 miles from the sea, where these streams unite. In consequence of a very narrow channel at the mouth, and a sand-bank, over which the sea beats with great violence against the stream of fresh water, it is not navigable. This is the more unfortunate, as the depth inside is at least five or six fathom twelve miles up.

"We arrived in the afternoon, after passing through a stony, mountainous country, at another of the king's kraals, called Imbabe. It is the largest I have seen, being upwards of a mile in circumference.

"Saturday.—Travelled nearly due west; and at ten at night reached a kraal called Nobamba. The country about this kraal is destitute of wood."

The following paper, upon the same country, was written by a Wesleyan missionary who was unsuccessful at Delagoa Bay, from sickness:—

"Village Sleugally, Tembi,
"Delagoa Bay, 1823.

"The appearance of the shore is very romantic, and exceedingly mountainous above point Natal and fifty miles beyond it. In approaching the coast in that latitude, we saw five or six ranges of mountains rising one behind another, of tabular forms. There we saw no cattle, (as about the Keiskamma) but smoke appeared; a proof it is inhabited. Little rivers fall into the sea all along the coast, much as they do in the Zureveld, between the Kowie and Fish Rivers; but the country is not faced on the sea-side by sand-hills as it is there. The land has a high and very bold appearance; and there seemed to be plains studded with bushes, as between Salem and Theopolis. .... Missionary stations might be formed, no doubt, all along the coast to this bay, where the population is great indeed, in every quarter; not living in large towns, but distributed in villages equally over the face of the country, for the advantage of cultivation; and the country, as far as I have seen it, is cultivated.

"I found the face of the country every where covered with the richest pasturage, and extensive fields of Caffre and Indian corn; and when it is considered how superficially the ground is broken up with their homely implements of husbandry, the luxuriance of the growth is a sufficient proof of the fertility of the soil. The scenery which the country presents is of the most grand and beautiful description, and only needs to be viewed in order to be admired."

"Wm. Threlfall."

"Portuguese Fort, Delagoa Bay,
"November 29, 1823.

"This fort is a miserable place, with three officers, and about fifty Mozambique black soldiers, and a governor. The country is unhealthy. In the neighbourhood it will be found, I believe, on examination, most interesting. It is beautiful and fertile in native productions beyond description generally; but for the last two or three years, with little rain —which, with the devastations of the Vatwahs, has produced famine. The Vatwahs are a warlike and powerful tribe to the S.W. The river Cuma wide and deep; and I have been up one in a boat upwards of thirty miles, when it was still wide and deep, and had several feet rise of the tide.

"The country is woody, and well timbered. To the westward, on a clear day, three or four chains of mountains are seen; the farthest of these very high; perhaps 100 miles distant. It would be a great and dangerous undertaking to attempt to come to Somerset by way of Lattakoo, although such a communication is desirable."

"W. Threlfall."

"Thousands of acres in this immediate vicinity appear bearing the remains of old crops; and yet the people have neither oxen, waggons, nor ploughs, all being done by human labour. They are not graziers in this district; nor does the country appear well calculated for it at present, whatever it may do in the rainy season (which is expected every week). They have cattle in the country west of us.

"The king is named Mayett, but is called Kapell since the death of his predecessor.

"There are three great navigable rivers falling into the bay, which appear to divide the coast into kingdoms; the King George to the north; English River to the west; and the Mapoota to the south. Tembi is between the English and Mapoota, and is said to be the largest. I am living on the south bank of English River, about a quarter of a mile from its mouth, as being the least unhealthy in this neighbourhood, because the highest. The Portuguese factory is about two miles higher up the river on the opposite bank. It consists of a very bad fort, with a few old rusted cannons, and three or four houses: the others are all native-built ones. It is miserable in appearance for a fort of so many years standing. Between English River and King George River is a great population, now in distress through the depredations of the Vatwahs. Inyack, on the south-east of the bay, is populous, rich, and compact. The Mapoota, to the south of that river, and between Inyack and Tembi, I believe, is the most populous and rich. To the south and west of Mapoota the Vatwahs inhabit, whose power is not known; but it appears they have laid all the countries waste in the neighbourhood of the bay within the last year, except Inyack and Mapoota. I intend going to Mapoota in a few days, the master of a trader having promised to take me in his boat, which goes there for ivory.

"The Vatwahs are the finest men I ever saw; but they appear unfeeling. If I can meet with a healthy situation among the Mapootans, and within reach of them, it may be the best place for beginning a station as a fixed one. The conveniences of the bay and rivers are very many. Boats in one day go from the most distant of these people to each other. All the land-carriage is on the heads of the people. ...

"I think such a missionary field never offered itself to our society. Just in the bay there is room for six circuits, and yet so situated that all the preachers might come together in one day, and go on at home, supposing the language to be obtained, which I hope would soon be done, by the united efforts of several.

"I have no interpreter as yet in employ, none of the people understanding English sufficiently, except one old man who has a leprosy. However, I try to add a few words and phrases daily to my vocabulary. There is no *cleck* in the language, excepting once in a song. Some of the sounds are difficult in the beginning; but I think I have got hold of them. They sing here very much like the Caffres at the Chumi. I can discover no religion among them, but a great deal of superstition. . . . .

"There is no room for emigrants excepting merchants here. The country already is sufficiently populated to cultivate all its extent.

"Kapell has granted us above 200 acres, to be held on paying the quotient of four pounds of beads annually, but exempt from other taxes. All the chiefs I have yet seen, say they would be glad to have missionaries. I have made no present, neither do I intend it until necessary; I think it a bad missionary practice.

"W. Threlfall."

Our recent relations with the inhabitants of this neglected country have already been discussed in the chapters upon the lands, and upon political intercourse, considered as means for promoting their civilisation. Their feelings, and the present state of the country, may be collected from the following very interesting notes derived from three sources ; the one, a party of ordinary travellers now penetrating the eastern country; the other, (in p. lxxii,) from a party of much-esteemed Wesleyans sent to ascertain the practicability of establishing a chain of missions along the eastern coast; the third, (in p. lxxxix,) from intelligent traders.

" Graham Town, March 13, 1829.

" Dr. ——— writes from Umdingee's kraal, on the river Umzimvubu :—

" In taking our waggons through the Umtata, and going down towards Faku's, near the mouth of the Umzimvubu, we have had to ascend and descend mountains, which I never before could have considered passable by such machines as waggons. In some cases we found two and even three span of oxen necessary; and in ascending one mountain we spent the whole day in bringing up our waggon in this manner. In descending the steep sides of the mountains we endeavour, besides rimming three wheels, to get as many Caffres as we can to pull back the waggons, by means of rims fastened behind.

" On the side of the Umtata, Umdiepa's tribe reside. You are aware he is the son of an Englishwoman. She had five children, three of whom are dead: his sister is alive, and the descendants of the family are numerous. On making inquiry with regard to the number of individuals saved from the shipwreck, we were generally told that an-

other woman and two men were saved. The other female only survived a few days, having probably received some severe injury when cast ashore. The two men settled in the country, and intermarried with the natives. Their descendants are likewise numerous.

"Thus there is a little colony of individuals, probably nearly related to considerable families in England, inhabiting the east coast of Africa. We felt much interested in their behalf; and they were rejoiced to see us, and considered themselves as our countrymen and friends. Umdingee, at whose kraal we now reside, and from whom we have received more genuine disinterested hospitality and kind treatment than from any chief since we entered Caffreland, is particularly anxious that a white teacher should come to reside among his people. He is by far the most intelligent chief we have met with, and seems to possess much candour and good-nature. This is a field for missionary exertion, which promises success of no ordinary extent.

"Chaka drove this chief from his native soil; and he has resided where he now lives about three years. He purchased this tract of country from the Chiefs Vosani, Faku, and Umeeka, paying them in elephants' teeth and cattle. All parties then declared their satisfaction, and he considered them as his friends. It was, however, on their part a pretended friendship. Faku has since made three unsuccessful attacks upon him. Umeeka is constantly threatening him; and Vosani's friendly professions are of a suspicious nature, although, to do him justice, he has never openly avowed hostile intentions towards him. But Fobo, one of Vosani's captains, has stolen three herds of cattle from his (Umdingee's) tribe.

"Since Colonel Somerset's battle with Matuana, Vosani has not enforced restitution of the plunder. All the old natives

or proprietors of the country are attacking, plundering, and threatening this stranger; and it is his warlike superiority alone, not the number of his men, that preserves him. He says he is not afraid of all the Caffres who may attack him, provided the English do not assist them. Our coming filled him with joy, as he thinks the English are now his friends."

Missionary Journal towards Natal from the Cape Frontier, 1829.

"May 7, 1829.

"As we must pass through part of the Tambookie country to Depa's, we went to the kraal of Vosani, the principal chief. The waggons passed near his place, but he was absent at a distant cattle station, as we were informed by a number of his pagati (counsellors). They offered to send for him, for which we could not wait, and only informed them of our object in passing through their country. It is greatly to be regretted that no mission has yet been established with Vosani. He is a chief of the first class, and has long been desirous that a missionary should reside among his people. * * *

"After leaving Vosani's kraal, we again joined the waggons, and proceeded to the ford of the Bashie River. Here we found a large and populous kraal, where we took up our lodging for the night.

"8th. Crossed the Bashie, not long after day-break. We had not proceeded far before we were in a difficulty as to the route we ought to pursue. It is not easy to pass through this country, where there are no proper roads, with waggons, without the assistance of a guide well acquainted with the peculiar nature of the country: none of the natives in our party had ever been this route before.

While we were consulting on this subject, we met three natives, who, on being informed where the waggons were going, manifested much joy, and stated that they belonged to the tribe whither we were going; and though they could not accompany us, being engaged in completing a marriage contract between a young woman whom they had brought from their country, and the master of a neighbouring kraal, yet they would procure us a guide. The guide having joined us, we proceeded, after a short rest, on our journey; but were compelled to unyoke the oxen some time before sun-set, as the ford of a small river, which we had to cross, required some labour before it was passable for waggons. The spades and pickaxes were now in requisition, and before dark the people had completed the necessary work, when we prepared our lodging for the night. During the greater part of this day's journey we were near the mountain, where Fikaanie had remained for several months during the last year, and whence they had made frequent incursions amongst the Tambookies, who occupy the plains below, carrying off their cattle, burning their kraals, murdering women and children; and it was here that our troops last year, in the presence of an immense body of Caffres and Tambookies, attacked and completely dispersed this nation of freebooters. We find that that affair has strongly impressed the Tambookies with an idea of the power of the English, and of its being the wish of our nation that the tribes should live in peace. It so happened, that two women, who had become captives on this occasion, had gone to reside at Butterworth, and were now accompanying Brother Shepstone's waggons to the new station. We had this evening much conversation with them; we learned from them that, though a distinct tribe from that of Chaka, they came

originally from the same neighbourhood; their proper designation being Amangwana, and the name of their principal chief Matawana. They told us that their nation delight in war, and for many years had been roving over an immense extent of country, and had conquered and plundered many tribes of Caffres and Bootshuanas. They had also seen, when far to the northward, some white people with horses, which we suppose to have been some of the Griquas; and I think it highly probable that this is the tribe which disturbed the Batow Bootshuanas, and caused the latter to destroy Maquassi several years ago.

" 9th. Just after we started this morning, it was discovered that three of the cattle were missing, which had doubtless been stolen during the night by some of the Tambookies who live near this place; a message was left at a kraal suspected, that the cattle must be sought for, and if found sent after the waggon, or a complaint would be made to the chief.

" Within the last two or three years a few traders have proceeded as far as the country between the Bashie and Umzimvubu for the purpose of purchasing cattle and ivory. The natives frequently steal from these traders the cattle they have purchased, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance in watching; thus many are quite practised in robbery of this kind. In general such thieves are not so much inclined to plunder the missionaries, as, from our living in the country, we frequently, by means of those natives who are attached to us, discover the thieves, and on a clear case being made out, the chiefs usually punish them for such depredations upon us. Towards sun-set we took possession of a forsaken kraal, and stopped for the night, intending also to rest here during the Sabbath; but as we were now on the borders of

the country occupied by the Amabomvana, or Depa's tribe, we sent off messengers to him, and to another chief, desiring them to meet us at a place specified on Monday.

"We proceeded on our way this morning to the place appointed for meeting the chiefs. After travelling some distance we met the messenger whom we had sent to Depa on Saturday. He stated that Depa had him back to tell us, that we must proceed to the kraal of a chief named Quanda, who he said is the 'Umkumkani,' *i. e.* the principal chief or king of the tribe; and he with his sons would meet us there. Accordingly we proceeded to the kraal of Quanda, where we arrived not long after meeting the messenger. Quanda, whose name signifies an egg, came to the door of his hut to receive us. As it was raining, we requested he would furnish us with a hut where we might obtain shelter; he promptly issued orders that one of his vassals, the master of a small kraal near his own, should immediately remove and give up the huts, together with his cattle-fold, for our accommodation; and in less than an hour we were in full possession of the place assigned.

"13th. This morning, at an early hour, Cetani and Sani, with a few counsellors, and also Quanda and his son, with a larger number of their influential men and attendants, assembled at our kraal, taking their seats in due form, and prepared for the necessary discussions. We now informed them, that as we were not come with 'earthly news,' but with the 'news of heaven,' it would be well to pray to God, before we began to talk about the final establishment of the mission. To this they agreed, and after it had been explained, that every one must kneel on his knees, they all complied, and repeated aloud after me each sentence of the Lord's Prayer, as I recited it in the Caffre language. Their number amounted to about one hundred. It was an interesting

sight; and I trust He, with whom is 'the residue of the Spirit,' will yet 'pour' on this people 'the spirit of prayer and the grace of supplications.' We had previously learned that Quanda and Depa, though two distinct chiefs, each having his own people, yet the two clans form properly but one large tribe, whose interest it is to be united, and we now saw the reason why Quanda and his vassals had deceived us with a pretended message from Depa to go to his (Quanda's) kraal. He understood the mission was going to Depa's clan, and he feared that he and his people would not be included in the arrangements of the mission, and therefore caused us, by false messages, to be led to his kraal. Though displeased with this attempt to deceive us, we resolved to turn it to good account by conciliating both branches of the tribe, *formally* including them all in our arrangements, and thus greatly extending the influence of the mission. It was necessary, however, to *manifest* our displeasure at the system of lying which had been resorted to; and to do this the more effectually an explanation now took place between Depa's sons and us, similar to that which occurred between us the preceding night. The messenger who was sitting behind Quanda, was now called forward and examined, and ultimately received a severe reprimand for imposing upon us with lies. This reproof was no doubt quite as much felt by Quanda as by the poor messenger, as the whole had evidently been the contrivance of that chief. Brother Shepstone was introduced to them as their missionary, sent in consequence of the request of Depa. They informed us, that the country is in a disturbed state. The chief of an adjoining tribe, named Gezana, having carried off some of their cattle, a number of their young men had made reprisals, but Gezana's men had come upon them when weary, and killed thirteen men; that they were therefore preparing to

attack and punish Gezana's people with their whole united force. We strongly urged them to adopt peaceable measures; several very animated speeches were delivered by some of the old counsellors, which were principally to the effect, that it would be their highest wisdom to lay aside their schemes of war, and to receive the missionary now come to them, to listen to his word, and to be at peace. The conclusion of all was, that the station could not be commenced at the place we had so much admired the day before, it not being the proper territory of the tribe; but they requested us to move the waggons to a place called Cwanguba, not far distant, and where we might select a proper situation. To our inquiries, why Depa was not present, it was answered, that his age and infirmities had prevented his coming to see us, but he would meet us at Cwanguba.

"May 14th. The oxen were yoked early this morning to proceed to the place decided on yesterday, when considerable delay occurred in consequence of Quanda's being unwilling we should depart until he had made a present of a cow to Mr. Shepstone, as he said it would be a scandal for us to be so long near him without having received any food; besides, this was intended as a formal recognition of his interest in the mission. . . . The Cwanguba is a high point of land, on the summit of which is a rather extensive timber-bush, by the outskirts of which we made our temporary abode. It is remarkable, that only eleven months before, the warriors of Chaka, who had just overrun the whole country between the Umzimvubu and the Umtata, spent several days at this bush, whence they commanded a view of a large tract of country. What a contrast! and in how short a time! *Then* the bush was crowded with bloodthirsty warriors, breathing out threatenings and slaughter; *now* a few missionaries and their people occupied the same

place, bringing with them the 'Gospel of peace.' At *that time* the bush resounded with savage mirth, and songs of war; but *this evening*, a few Christian Caffres joined in singing, in the same place, one of the 'Songs of Zion,' and afterwards retired for the purpose of devotion into the thicket, which now, probably for the first time since the creation, became a place of prayer.*

"15th. Mr. Shrewsbury and I, leaving the waggons and our friends at Cwanguba, went on horseback to Faku, the principal chief of the Mambo, or as it is usually written Mambookie nation. We crossed the Umtata at an early hour, and soon entered an uninhabited tract. We continued riding the whole day before we reached the first kraals of the Amapondo, which is that branch of the Mambo nation, who are more immediately under the control of Faku. The path was indescribably bad, as we had taken a route which runs parallel with the beach, at the distance of only a few miles. The country near the sea is intersected by a great number of small rivers; and here, it presents a constant succession of hill and dale, the sides of the hills being in many places so steep and rugged, that travelling is extremely laborious. To this may be added, as another obstacle, the length of the grass, which, in this country, in many parts averages five or six feet high, and in some places we found it from eight to ten feet in height, completely hiding from view a horse and his rider. It is impossible for any one who has not travelled under similar circumstances, to con-

* "Listen to the exultation of Adam of Bremen, (A. D. 1080,) of which the substance is agreeable to truth:—'Ecce illa ferocissima Danorum natio ... jamdudum novit in Dei laudibus resonare.... Ecce populus ille piraticus ... suis nunc finibus contentus est. Ecce patria semper inaccessa propter cultum idolorum ... prædicatores ubique certatim admittit,' &c. &c."—Gibbon, ch. lv. note 80.

ceive any idea of the toil of proceeding along a narrow foot-path through such a country.

" About sun-set, we reached a valley where several Amapondo kraals are situated; we repaired to the nearest, which proved to belong to a good-natured talkative chief. Without waiting for an invitation, or asking permission, we unsaddled our horses, and sat down on the ground near the old chief, in the unceremonious manner of the country. As is usual, he asked us whence we came, and the news. We informed him, that a missionary had come to reside with the Amabomvana tribe, and whom we had left at the Cwanguba. On hearing this, he expressed his surprise that no missionary came to reside with the Amapondo. To our inquiry, whether he thought Faku would receive missionaries, he instantly replied, that Faku and all the great men of the nation would be glad to receive them. We now informed him of our being missionaries ourselves, and that we were going to Faku, to inquire whether he was really anxious that a mission should be commenced in his country. This news evidently pleased the old man, though as we anticipated, he now became more cautious of expressing what he knew of the sentiments of Faku and the other chiefs on this subject. In the course of the evening, our host (who supplied us liberally with pumpkins and maize) furnished us with the genealogy of Depa and Quanda's families, which it is of some importance for us just now to become acquainted with, and which, for special reasons, we knew we were not likely to learn correctly from those chiefs themselves. It appears they are a distinct branch of the family from which Faku is descended; and we now learned that the white woman, the mother of Depa, was first taken under the protection of Ishomani, an Amapondo chief, who made her his wife. But at his death, she had borne him no

children; he had, however, native wives who had children. Quanda is descended from Ishomani in this line, and inherits all the rights and vassals of his ancestor. At the death of Ishomani, his younger brother, named Sango, requested the great men to allow him to take the white woman to wife, urging, that as she was a foreigner, their own customs, which would not allow of such a marriage, might in this case be set aside. To this proposal the counsellors acceded, and Sango married the white female. By this marriage she had several children, the principal of which were her sons Lau and Depa. Lau, the eldest, became heir to the authority of Sango, but died when a young man, leaving a son named Cetani, who being a child, and unable to manage his father's clan, the *whole* authority devolved on Depa during his nephew's minority. Cetani has, however, for some time assumed his proper authority in the tribe, and as we had an opportunity of observing, is become a man of much influence. Hence there are properly *three* distinct clans with which our new mission is connected; their chiefs, Depa, Cetani, and Quanda, all being relatives, and connected with the family into which the white woman was so singularly introduced after the shipwreck.

"May 16th. The chief having directed his son to proceed with us, as our guide to the kraal of Faku, we continued our journey; the road was still very bad, but more interesting than our ride yesterday, as we were now in a very thickly inhabited country. We arrived at Faku's kraal about midday, and found him sitting under a mimosa-tree, surrounded by a number of his pagati and young men. He is a tall good-looking man; his hair was dressed in the manner peculiar to the Amapondo nation; he wore a carosse or skin-cloak loosely over his shoulders. He appeared to be about forty years of age, has a number of wives, and twenty-three

children; he received us very civilly. We informed him briefly that we were missionaries, and were come to hear whether he was desirous that teachers should be sent to his tribe; but that as we were aware that a chief could not, without consulting his pagati, give a formal answer to our inquiries, we intended staying a day or two at his place; and in the meantime he could prepare to discuss the subject with us. He now ordered a hut to be prepared for our reception, in which we quickly placed our saddles, sacks, &c., and took up our lodgings. After a hearty meal of parched maize, or Indian corn, we walked out to view this neighbourhood, around which the scenery is grand and beautiful. We were surprised at the very great number of kraals, or villages, which appeared in every part of the valley, through which flows a fine stream of water, called the Umgaza. The population in the immediate vicinity of Faku's kraal must be very considerable; the Amapondo kraals being on an average three times as large and populous as Caffre kraals. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the number of people forming the *Mambo*, or *Mambookie nation*, but if all the clans and tribes are included, I think they are quite as numerous as the Amatembu (Tambookies), or the Amakosa (Caffres). Their *language* is the same as that of the Caffres, with only a slight difference in the pronunciation of some words, so that we found no great difficulty in understanding them, or in making ourselves understood. The *country* they occupy is extensive, and abounds in wood, and water of the best quality. The soil is generally very rich, and it is a country possessing every requisite for most productive cultivation; the numerous springs and rivers, being well situated for the purpose of irrigation. Indeed the cultivated lands of the natives, who never irrigate, produce abundantly; but their country, though better adapted for

cultivation, is not near so good for grazing as Caffreland or Albany, the grass being in most parts coarse, long, and sour. Since the death of Chaka, it does not appear that his people have made any more warlike movements, at least in this direction; and if missions were commenced at Port Natal, and with the Amaponda, nearly at the same time, we have good reason to expect that peace would soon be fully re-established among the tribes; and what a boon would even that be to them, independently of the still more important gift of the Gospel. We this evening obtained some interesting information, respecting the country around Port Natal, and the nation over whom Chaka ruled; the very *names* of the chiefs, whether by accident or design, is not easy to say, afford striking evidence of the pride of this people. Chaka's grandfather was called '*Zulu*,' which signifies 'Heaven,' or figuratively '*High:*' from him the nation is now called '*Umazulu*,' i. e. '*People of Heaven*,' or '*the High People.*' (The English call them Zoolas, which is a corruption of the proper name.) The son of *Zulu* was '*Menzi*,' which signifies '*Maker*,' or '*Worker:*' '*Chaka*' was the son of Menzi, and his name, at least in the *Sichuan* language, means a '*Battle-axe.*' The name of the chief who has succeeded Chaka, is '*Dingum*,' which is nearly equivalent to '*I of myself*,' or '*I am!*' In the course of the evening Faku came to our hut, and requested a present of beads, which we gave him. Brother Shrewsbury also gave him a tinder-box, with steel and flint, of which he scarcely knew the use, as the Amapondo usually obtain fire by the friction of two sticks, the operation being accelerated by a small quantity of sand being placed between the parts that undergo the friction. It is, however, a very troublesome method of obtaining that necessary element; and as tinder-boxes have been extensively introduced among the Caffres, they

have entirely laid aside this mode of procuring it. We had requested Faku to assemble his counsellors, with the women and children, that we might make known to them 'God's news.' While we were waiting in our hut, in expectation of being called by the chief, three natives came in, who saluted me in the Caffre style by my name. On entering into conversation, we found that they reside at present among the Caffres, near Wesleyville, which place as well as Mount Coke, they had frequently visited, and had obtained a tolerably correct knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the object of our missions. They belonged to Faku's tribe, and the eldest had formerly been one of his influential men; but having lost his cattle, took refuge among the Caffres, at the commencement of the troubles occasioned by Chaka's repeated invasions. They were now come on a visit, and to beg presents of their friends, and had been above a month from home. We told them our object in visiting Faku, when the eldest rose up, saying, he would go and explain to Faku the exact nature and object of our missions. We were much encouraged by this incident; it was a notable instance of that wondrous arrangement of Providence, by which little things are often made to produce great events. Three heathens, possessing a little knowledge of Christianity, go a journey of nearly 300 miles, with the intention of visiting their friends and obtaining some paltry presents; and they arrive just in time to make a favourable representation of Christian missions to a chief whom they find discussing with his counsellors the question, whether he may or may not admit missionaries into his country, and this concurrence of circumstances takes place without the contrivance of any of the parties concerned. With some I shall probably pass for an enthusiast—a rank enthusiast, for noting so trivial an occurrence; but there are not a few who will

join us in thankfully acknowledging the hand of God herein.

"In the afternoon, Faku and his counsellors, &c., together with a number of females, forming a congregation of nearly a hundred persons, came and sat in a group at the door of our hut, and I delivered them an address containing a very brief outline of the Christian religion. At the close of the address, I said, 'This is the news which a missionary will bring to you; we have frequently heard that you wish a missionary to reside among you, and we have come to hear whether this is really the case; therefore, speak, Faku, we wait to hear.'

"Faku said, 'The reports you have heard, that we wish missionaries to live amongst us are true, but you must wait until I can assemble more of my counsellors before I can give a formal answer.' This was probably an artful evasion, by which he endeavoured to induce his counsellors, then present, first to express their sentiments. We, therefore, in reply urged, that we had been long from home, and could not prolong our stay; that if he were really anxious, he would not lengthen the discussion; that Chaka had requested to have a missionary, but that we did not wish the Gospel should pass his tribe until it had first been offered to him. Several speeches were now made by some of the counsellors in succession; some of the observations were to the following effect. The first who spoke, said, 'Why does Faku talk of assembling his great men? he has no great men; they have all been killed in the war. It is true that we wish a missionary to live among us.' Another old man said, 'The news you have told us to-day (alluding to the address which I had delivered) is good; it is sweet; it is like the sweet cane (Imfe); make haste and let a missionary come: you talk of peace, it is good; we are tired of war, tired of

prowling like wild beasts (amarhamcwa), or being hunted like game (imnyamakaze). A young chief, in an animated speech said, among other things, 'The news is good, but you tell us lies; no missionary will come to us. While you sit at Faku's kraal, you ask him if he will have a teacher; but though he say 'yes,' a teacher will never come: as soon as you leave us, and pass over the hill, you will forget Faku.' This speech was ingeniously intended to make us feel that we should stand pledged for the commencement of a mission. We now said, 'We tell no lies; missionaries are true men:' and explained, that they must not misunderstand us, we were merely come on a journey of inquiry, but as we now heard from their own mouths that they would receive a missionary, we would make known their wishes 'to our fathers, the great teachers whom we serve in the Gospel, and who live beyond the sea;' and when we received their decision we would make it known to them, whether favourable or unfavourable. After some more speeches had been delivered, including one strongly in favour of the mission by the elder man, from near Wesleyville, already alluded to in the journal, we desired that Faku would now close the debate, his counsellors having all delivered their sentiments freely. He said, 'He was but a child, and could only say what his great men said; and as one of them had said something about the country beyond the Umzimvubu, he observed, if a missionary came to him, he and the missionary would jointly select a proper place where they might live together, either on this or the other side of the Umzimvubu, as might appear most eligible at the time.' We thanked the chief and his counsellors for their words, in the usual way of closing a formal discussion, and thus ended this interesting meeting.

"18th. At breakfast, Faku entered our hut, attended

by some of his great men, one of whom brought a large elephant's tusk, which the chief placed at our feet, and made a speech, the purport of which was, that he was sorry he had so few cattle; that he was unable to shew us the usual mark of respect by giving us an ox to slaughter; but that as he was possessed of some ivory, he had brought an elephant's tusk, which he begged us to receive instead of a beast. We thanked him for this decisive mark of his friendship for us; but we wished him to understand that missionaries were not desirous of such things, and as we saw the distress to which his people had been reduced, we should return him the tusk, and he could take some opportunity of purchasing cattle with it of the traders. I however requested him to give me, as a token of friendship, a handsome bracelet of native manufacture, which he wore on his arm; he immediately took it off and presented it to me. Brother Shrewsbury said, the only request he should make was, that Faku would give him a few heads of his fine Indian corn, as seed for planting in his cultivated land at Butterworth. Faku instantly left us to give orders for the Indian corn to be brought, and it was speedily delivered to Brother Shrewsbury. We now saddled our horses; but just before we left them, we assembled a number of the people, including the chief, and all kneeling down, they repeated aloud each sentence of the Lord's Prayer; after which we took our leave, giving, as our parting advice, that they should live in peace with the tribes around them; and that they should frequently retire into the bushes, and pray to God to incline the hearts of the good people beyond the sea, to send them a missionary.

" Having obtained a guide, we proceeded on our journey back to Depa's country; but we were anxious to visit on our way the kraal of a chief called Gezana, with whom Depa

and Quanda's people had lately been in a state of warfare (as noticed under date of the 13th instant). We hoped that by our recommending both parties to keep peace, they might be induced to agree to an amicable adjustment of their disputes. On our arrival, we found that Gezana was ill in his hut, but we had some conversation on the object of our visit with his principal son, who shewed us a severe wound he had received in one of his legs at the late skirmish. The son and some of the pagati did not seem averse to pacific measures, and we hope the animosity of the two tribes will not be perpetuated. After a short time we pursued our journey. Our path happened to lie over the ground where the young men of Gezana on the one part, and of Cetani and Quanda on the other, had fought about a fortnight before, and where it is said thirteen of the latter were killed. We saw strong proofs of the fierceness of the onset; as also, in several places, parts of the dead bodies of those who fell on the occasion. Such petty wars are constantly occurring among the tribes of Africa. . . .

" 19th. Proceeded on our way, and arrived at Cwanguba, where we had left Brother Shepstone, and whom we found just ready to remove with the waggons to another situation on the other side of the Umtata, whither we went.

" 23d. This place is situated on a high ridge of land, on the east of the Umtata River, from which it is distant about five miles, and about sixteen from the sea. The prospect is most extensive; it is only terminated to the north-east, at the distance of about fifty miles, by a fine range of singular conical mountains, which form part of the country of the Amaponda, while to the north, the eye looks over a vast extent of fine level country. The village will stand within a few hundred yards of the edge of a timber forest, which, commencing here, extends for miles along the high land; it

is intersected, however, in many places by patches of grass land, and the whole has the appearance of an extensive and well designed plantation : an opening through this ridge of forest to the eastward, presents to the eye a delightful view of the sea. This place also possesses the more substantial advantages of a very rich soil, and abundance of excellent water; ten or twelve strong springs rise within a short distance of the spot selected, which together form the source of the Umdumbe River. These springs will enable those who reside here to irrigate extensive tracts of fine land, thus rendering it easy for a considerable population to find the means of subsistence, from the cultivation of the ground. I have not seen in any other part of South Africa a place better adapted for the site of a village or town; and as the three chiefs, Quanda, Depa, and Cetani, now appear to agree in its being a proper place for the mission village, I have no doubt but the neighbourhood will soon be thickly populated. Cetani's kraal is already near the place. Quanda has promised to remove, so as to be within a short distance; indeed, some of his people are already selecting spots for their kraals. Bajela tells us, that Depa and his clan will inhabit a tract which he pointed out to us, and he thinks it most likely that Depa himself will reside at the mission village, leaving his kraal to the care of his sons. Cetani came with a number of his people, and requested to know where the cattle kraal was to be placed, as they would immediately commence the work, and complete it as quick as possible. This proof of his anxiety to see the mission actually commenced was very gratifying to us; indeed, all the perplexity attending the commencement of this station has entirely arisen from the wish of each of the principal chiefs to have the mission exclusively connected with his own clan, while we were desirous of its benefiting them all. Through the

secret influence of Him who hath the hearts of all men in keeping, we have, in the end, been enabled to prevail upon them to unite for their common good, and have thus greatly extended the field of this mission.

" This new station is now, therefore, commenced under the most pleasing prospects; and, agreeably to the unanimous decision of our last District Meeting, it is to be called ' Morley,' as a mark of our respect for the Senior Secretary of our Missions, the Reverend George Morley, under whose auspices, as superintendant of the Leeds Circuit, the first regular Missionary Society in our connexion was organised. * * *

" It is a pleasing consideration that, although we have on this journey been much hindered by the badness of the roads, yet this difficulty will not again be experienced. From the situation of Morley, it will be easy to pursue a route (at a greater distance from the sea than that we followed,) in which we are assured by the natives that the road will be found excellent, not only to the new station but also to the country of Faku; and what we saw of the country during this day's ride, induces us to believe this statement. By the road here alluded to, Morley will be about one hundred miles from Butterworth; and from Morley to the kraal of Faku, continuing the same route, about sixty miles."—Missionary Journal sent from Caffreland in 1829.

The following notes of a Journey to the Amapondas, Graham Town, in 1829, were published in the Cape Advertiser, of the 20th of September. The writer is Mr. Bain, well known and much respected in the colony:—

" The object of my journey being of a commercial nature,

coupled with a strong desire of exploring unknown countries, I was joined at Graham's Town by my friend and old fellow-traveller, M. Biddulph, with whom I laid in a stock of necessaries for such a trip. Our plan was to take the nearest route through Caffreland till we reached the river Umzimvubu, from which we would take a north-easterly direction till we made the latitude of Natal, when it was our intention to penetrate to the north-west, and to return by the Bechuana country, by which means we would be enabled to fill up part of the extensive blank which that part of the map of South Africa presents to view—a blank that, in my humble opinion, has been a long-standing reproach on the enterprise of the colonists.

"We entered Caffreland by the way of Trumpeters' Drift, with two bullock-waggons, and three teams to each, seven horses to eight Hottentots, but three of the latter gave us the slip just as we started. After passing through a delightful country, and crossing the Fish, Beka, and Keiskamma rivers, we reached that beautiful missionary institution, Wesleyville, which speaks volumes in favour of missionary labours, when conducted on the judicious plan which seems to characterize that establishment. The meed of praise due to the individual who formed it, you can better estimate when you are informed that that, which is now a handsome village, vieing in neatness and cleanliness with any in England as to size, was only three years ago a miserable Caffre kraal. Sanguine in the advancement of the good work they are engaged in, many worthy missionaries have, perhaps, overrated the numbers of real converts, but there can be little doubt that at Wesleyville, as well as most of the other schools I have visited in Caffreland, the improvement in the morals of the natives has at least kept pace with that of their habitations. Two days after leaving

this, we met the remains of the crew and passengers of the French ship, L'Eole, on their way to the colony; they were in a very destitute condition, but bore their hardship with a very becoming fortitude. On approaching the river Ky, one would think it impossible ever to get a waggon over the rugged hills that surround it, but after a winding descent of five hours we reached this noble stream, where the stupendous mountains, rising in perpendicular grandeur from its rocky bed, gave to the scenery an awful sublimity, seldom to be found in African rivers, and seemed to bid defiance to our egress from the abyss we were plunged in; however, we found a tolerable road up the opposite bank, though very steep and winding. Here we met Mr. Cane, the late Chaka's ambassador, on his return to Natal, and previously we overtook Mr. Fynn, sen., whose son has been a long resident there, also on his way to Natal; so as we were all going nearly in one direction we agreed to travel together for our mutual protection. After spending a day at Butterworth, another Wesleyan school, we paid our respects to Hinza, one of the most powerful of the Caffre chiefs, whose residence is close to it. We found his majesty superintending and assisting the slaughter of two oxen, an occupation by no means degrading in the eyes of a Caffre king.

" A friendly custom prevails among all the savage tribes I have visited in Southern Africa; when one chief visits another, a cow or ox is given to the stranger for slaughter: now as white people are looked upon as their superiors, with this custom Hinza complied, by presenting Mr. B. and myself with a cow. Hinza was on the whole very friendly to us; but I must be brief in my descriptions. He was one of the most athletic men I ever saw; an excellent model for a Hercules.

" After passing the residence of Vosani, king of the

Tambookies, and crossing, besides many smaller rivers, the Bashie and Umtata, we came to a chief called Nugasie, at whose kraal we remained several days to rest our oxen. Although I do not reckon hospitality and gratitude in the list of Caffre virtues, yet we generally found the chiefs (although as great beggars as the lowest menial) hospitably inclined towards us, and old Nugasie in particular, was not behind in giving us an ox as a peace-offering. One of the first things he begged from us was some medicine, to recruit his strength.

" During our stay here a Commando was sent out against a neighbouring chief, Goboos, who having traced some cattle stolen from him to one of Nugasie's kraals, had taken the liberty of helping himself to an equal number of his (Nugasie's) with interest thereon—perhaps above the legal rate. For two days the whole country was up in arms, yet all ended without bloodshed, on condition that each would give up the stolen cattle. Such affrays are of very common occurrence, and frequently end in the same manner.

" We were just preparing to proceed on our journey, when we received the agreeable intelligence of three waggons having arrived from the interior on their way to the colony, which were spanned out a few miles above Nugasie's kraal. We concluded, as a matter of course, that it must be Dr. Cowie and Mr. Green returning from their travels, and immediately took horse and rode up to them. Two of the waggons did actually belong to those gentlemen, but were in charge of Mr. Turvey, the gentleman who accompanied them, and the other belonged to Mr. Cawood, an enterprising trader. Mr. Turvey informed us, that Messrs. Cowie and Green, finding the country so very mountainous resolved to leave two of the waggons under his care, and on New Year's Day they proceeded to Port Natal with one

waggon, taking only a very few necessaries with them, as they said they would not be absent more than twenty days, or a month at the very utmost. They had now been gone more than four months and a half, without his having any tidings of them, except a very vague report that a waggon was seen at Mr. Fynn's place near Natal.* He concluded from their protracted stay, that they must either have returned by sea or were killed by the natives, and consequently embraced the opportunity of having Cawood's company to the colony.

" The country through which we had hitherto passed was undulating though not mountainous or rocky, uniformly covered with the finest pasturage for cattle, presenting a long continuation of verdant fields, surpassing any thing of the kind to be found in the colony, everywhere thickly studded with Caffre kraals, and enlivened with numerous herds of horned cattle in the finest condition, which tacitly seemed to contradict the assertions I have frequently heard of the Caffres and Tambookies suffering much from want of food. We found everywhere abundance of milk, and at Nugasie's, and other parts near the Umtata, they had excellent crops of Caffre and Indian corn, pumpions, beans, &c., and on the whole appeared to be a happy and independent people.

" Two days farther travelling brought us to the beautiful wood of Ignooba, where almost all the colonial forest trees are to be found in the highest perfection. Here we had a fine view of the sea, and of the countries of Faku, king of the Amapondas and Depa. Faku's country is one jumble of rugged mountains, every one of which is an obstacle to the

* We are sorry to add, that by recent accounts it appears that both these gentlemen are dead.

traveller with waggons, so that our progress through it was uncommonly slow. When we arrived at the king's kraal, we found a multitude of people assembled there, and crowds of armed men kept pouring in from all directions for some time, which portended rather a warm reception to us; at least, from the unfavourable character we had heard of Faku, some momentary doubts of his good intentions rushed across our minds, which were, however, as quickly dispelled; for instead of intending us any harm, it was a general rejoicing for having housed the corn; in short, what in England would be called a harvest home."

In 1829 also the Natal settlement was proposed to be extended upon improved principles, which may be collected from the following papers already laid before his Majesty's government:—

"The following motives shall be submitted to his Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and to his Majesty's ministers, for sanctioning this plan: and each head shall, if required, be supported by written details.

"Advantages to be gained to Great Britain by establishing civil government at Natal:—

"(*a*) A gradual increase of trade.

"(*b*) Protection for the interior traders, now proceeding from Graham's Town and other eastern places of the Cape of Good Hope.

"(*c*) Furnishing some means of checking the occasional misconduct of these traders.

"(*d*) A better way to the interior than any now known.

"(*e*) A means of civilising the natives near the Cape of Good Hope and in the interior.

" (*f*) Support to missions at Lattakoo, on the Vaal River, in Depa's country, and at the back of Caffreland.

" (*g*) Lessening the expense of defending the frontiers of the Cape of Good Hope.

" (*h*) Cheap additional security to British interests in South Africa.

" (*i*) Securing aid to distressed ships.

" To which is to be added, that without such government the parties hereto may be compelled to abandon their enterprise, and so it will be difficult to prevent the occupation of Natal by foreigners; and the then inevitable consequence of increased feuds with the Cape Caffres.

" Application shall be made to the members of the African Institution, and to all similar bodies, civil and religious, as well as to divers other persons at home, to aid in forming an association to promote civilisation at Natal.

" The parties, considering the civilisation of the tribes, as deeply connected with their own private interests, anticipate prosperity to the settlement if the following principles be acted upon :—

" ' The aborigines shall be undisturbed in their liberties: they shall be governed politically and civilly as ourselves, and enjoy the same measure of justice. Good rules shall be made for teaching them, and especially their children, the truths of religion, and the usages of civilised life. Care shall be taken to withdraw them from heathenish customs; and from indolence, the mother of want, to the cultivation of the soil, and to such social habits as their condition and capacity may bear.'—See Dutch Placaat referred to by Voet lib. 1. tit. v. de Statu Hominum 3.

" The association is proposed, in order to promote these principles, and thus to increase the value of Natal, by spreading civilisation and trade towards the interior.

" So much of the land as the association consider expedient to be vested in the various missionary societies; and in rewarding industrious native families, is to be first selected from the half million of acres ; the residue is to be disposed of in such methods for the advancement of native Africans as the association shall consider good."

The following Letter was sent from Cape Town, in support of the Natal proposals.

" Cape Town, May 12, 1829.

" Sir,

" I beg leave, in recommendation of the proposals, to add a few remarks upon the 'advantages,' which in the printed papers already presented to you, we allege 'may be gained to Great Britain, by establishing civil government at Natal;' and as a copy of this letter has been presented to his Excellency Sir Lowry Cole, I venture to anticipate that these few details will be received as a solid basis, unless shewn to be incorrectly stated.

" '(*a*) A gradual increase of trade.'

" In the experience of the colony, surpassing all anticipation as it has done on some points, we possess the best materials for encouraging hopes of the future interior trade. It is not contended, that it will be as lucrative as that of rich countries; but it will reward industrious men; and assist surely, although slowly, to improve the natives: and that the more effectually, when our productions are brought under their daily notice. Two articles, ivory and the produce of cattle, have been selected as illustrations of the point, that trade will increase considerably by our coming into more intimate communication with the people of South-

eastern Africa. Elephants abound in the country; and all the tribes have herds of cattle. So that the following short tables of Cape exports may be expected to indicate what can be done at Natal. They are examples only of what further details shew more fully.

"As to ivory exported:—

"In 1799, 1481 lbs.; 1800, 1500 lbs.; 1801, 1500 lbs.; 1802, 1500 lbs.

"At this rate Mr. Barrow held that the export of ivory would remain; and it did remain much so, until a little freedom of intercourse with the natives was allowed of late years. That opening raised it to the following amount, which would be exceeded at Natal for a considerable time to come.

"In 1818, 3815 lbs.; 1819, 1910 lbs.; 1820, 8870 lbs.; 1821, 4538 lbs.; 1822, 24,420 lbs.; 1823, 19,885 lbs.; 1824, 20,661 lbs.; 1825, 106,778 lbs.; 1826, 48,258 lbs.; 1827, 38,140 lbs.; 1828, 21,413 lbs.

"As to the produce of herds of cattle:—

"In 1828, the exports at Algoa Bay, from cattle, were as follows:—Butter, £8114; cheese, £125; candles, £211; tallow, £1734; salted beef, £6415; hides, £12,804; leather, £772; horns, £1914;—Total, £32,089 Custom-house valuation.

"In 1802, and until 1817, the yearly exports of hides from the whole colony did not, I think, exceed the average value of £1500; and of another article now considerable, horns, all seem to have been then wasted.

"Of these articles, much of the horns and hides comes from the recent opening with the Caffres; and the kindred tribes near Natal would very soon gladly sell those raw materials in great quantities. At no distant day they would adopt our more agreeable and cheaper clothing for the hides

they now wear; and which they are learning to prepare better for the market. The other articles would speedily follow, as the people perceived the advantage of selling what they now eat needlessly; and as they gradually knew how to convert part of their milk, fat, and meat, into saleable articles. Besides these immediate subjects of trade, others to the number of 29, are sold by the frontier Caffres at the Keiskamma; who, although less industrious than those to the eastward, may soon lessen the cost of provisioning the troops stationed there. They now bring in much grain: and possessing between 3 and 400,000 head of cattle, they will one day, if we act towards them with ordinary prudence, produce butter, beef, tallow, and similar commodities for the colonial market, consuming in return proportionate quantities of manufactures. That they have a strong appreciation of the value of property is proved by what occurred after opening the new fair. It being feared they might be too easily tempted to part with their cattle, and when stripped, resort to plundering us, the cattle trade was prohibited. At length the government allowed it, and well-informed persons anticipated a safe, steady supply from them of at least 1500 yearly. The actual sales, however, for 1828, at twelve fairs, were 78 head. We have much yet to learn of the customs and principles of these people, whom we unjustly call savages.

"To these remarks, it may be added, that the mercantile body at Cape Town have declared their opinion, annexed to this letter, that a settlement at Natal, protected by his Majesty's Government, will promote the commercial interests of the colony.

"'(*b*) Protection for the interior traders.

"'(*c*) Furnishing some means of checking the occasional misconduct of the traders.'

" If the former of these two heads has hitherto little needed attention, it arises from the respect white men always gain from the coloured people, until revenge is instigated by the injuries we inflict: and the kindness with which at first we are uniformly received, should furnish a motive for our seeking suitable guards against the frequent occurrence of the latter evil. Neglect of this matter will unquestionably, ere long, be a serious obstacle to all exertions for civilising South Africa. For a century past, the Cape government has known little of its white vagrants; and consequently it has controlled them too little. The old errors in this respect are very far from being yet sufficiently amended. After, also, properly yielding to experience in favour of a system of intercourse with our neighbours, refused rigidly until 1823, it has not yet followed up the natural abuse of the wise, newly adopted principles. It is understood, that at this moment, hawkers, pretending to be licensed, and others, carry on the kidnapping of black people and a modified slave-trade on the north-eastern frontier; bringing the craft of civilisation without its restraint amongst our feeble neighbours. We are thus plainly committing a breach of public law by not accompanying our advance with its available checks; in which case, enterprising men, whom we cannot keep back, would promote order intead of retarding its progress. Upon the present inefficient system, it is not surprising, that the natives, amongst whom they go without law, should inquire—'What sort of government is that, which will not avenge the wrongs committed by its own subjects?' and that they do often ask such a question, I learn from a letter written in this year to myself, by a person of credit living in that country.

" '(*d*) A better way to the interior than any now known.'

" The healthiness of the spot gives Natal a great supe-

riority over Delagoa Bay; and it is believed not to be cut off by the parched Karroos from the populous tribes known to be between Lattakoo and the eastern ocean. Protection on the coast would invite travellers to a new field at Natal, and to a boundless unknown region beyond. In order to reach the same countries from the Cape, they and their attendants, of every description, are now exhausted before they find the nearest objects deserving examination: but what of it was familiar to Europeans a century ago, under circumstances altogether unfavourable for research, (except at the Dutch factory in 1720,) promises advantages to our more advanced science and philanthropic views, at an easy cost.

" '(*e*) A means of civilising the natives near the Cape of Good Hope and in the interior.

" '(*f*) Support to missions at Lattakoo, on the Vaal river, in Depa's country, and at the back of Caffreland.'

" The convenience of access from Natal to these spots, already supplied by the Moravian, Wesleyan, and London society's missionaries, is obvious from a glance at the map; and right principles once established on our part, the numerous intervening tribes will generally promote that peaceful intercourse which is so useful to all parties. They who are familiar with no more persuasive and lasting means of influence over the less civilised than main force, know little of the power of quietly appealing to their interests and good feelings. With the support of suitable defences against occasional violence on all sides, gentle proceedings so directed, will produce effects amongst the Africans, of which the rapidity and value can only be estimated by those who have carefully weighed the obstacles in the way of exertions already made for civilising them; as well as the greater obstacles which have impeded them in their own struggles to

become civilised. The establishment contemplated aims at diminishing the power of both these kinds of obstacles. The following note, from a judicious Wesleyan missionary now in Caffreland, is valuable as containing the testimony of practical and cautious persons in its favour: 'Our late district meeting has strongly recommended the Wesleyan missionary committee to enable us to commence missions with the Amapondas under Faku, and with the Zulus near Port Natal: even without a settlement at Natal, we think the way is open for this extension of the missions; but should your plan of forming a settlement there take effect, the reasons for commencing missions in that part, as well as for their probable permanency and success, will be increased a thousand fold.'

"'(*g*) Lessening the expense of defending the frontier of the Cape of Good Hope.

"'(*h*) Cheap additional security to British interests in South Africa.'

"The principal advantages Natal offers on these heads, are its capabilities for promoting all measures directed to civilising the natives, and so rendering peace with them less insecure; and, consequently, military establishments less needed. If means of civilising them be not more distinctly sought than it is now, military expenses must increase. The Caffres between Natal and the colony must either be improved, or be destroyed; and although the latter alternative will never be willingly sought by the British government, I submit, that our proceedings are, against our will, substantially the same as those heretofore practised in all European settlements, and must slowly destroy our victims. In the mean time, we are exposed to many dangerous contingencies, since, against people in their state, who cannot calculate accurately their disadvantages in contests, their

oppressors are never safe, although they themselves at last gain nothing by resistance.

" But if we would wisely resolve to improve them, as we might do with little cost, and not without an early return, such establishments as that proposed for Natal would be of the first importance. The chief officers would be devoted to studying their domestic polity, the character of their leaders, the true interests of the people, and their mutual relations. They would also acquire an accurate knowledge of their established laws, and how to accommodate them the most usefully to our own; and so facilitate the execution of justice between us—a main point which is almost universally missed. It is a great error to suppose them destitute of fixed rules of law, strictly so called, because they possess no statute book or written digest: they have at least a sufficiently clear acquaintance with the principles of justice, to see the inconsistency and injustice of our course towards them.

" We shall thus be better able to guard against those unhappy violences, which must sometimes be looked for with every care; and still better to calculate the effect of the various measures necessary for advancing their civil condition. By an enlightened conduct, influence would be gained over the minds of the natives, through their just hopes of a better state being the consequence of exertions, in which they would speedily take an active part. When the supreme government was seen to be heartily engaged in the same cause, although in different modes, the independent labours of the missionaries would proceed with greatly increased effect; and there is no vice in the present situation of the natives which would not be steadily corrected.

" '(*i*) Securing aid to distressed ships.'

" The known wrecks on the east coast have not been very

numerous. In the present year, however, the survivors of the crew of the French ship, the Eole, lost near the Bashie, seem to owe their safety to traders and missionaries having now access to Caffreland. Memorials are preserved relative to the various fate of the crews of eleven others wrecked east of the Fish River; and to many, as to the Grosvenor's, a settlement at Natal, holding a friendly intercourse with all the neighbouring tribes, would have been a refuge from their melancholy end. The coasting trade, too, being extended, would increase employment for hardy seamen.

" In regard to the last point noticed in the printed paper, that if we are obliged to abandon the settlement for want of support, it will be open to any foreign power, I submit the law to be clear. It is no part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies. After obtaining a right to Southern Africa by discovery, the Portuguese abandoned the whole, except from Mozambique downwards to Inhambane, which was their extreme post to the south in 1720. The Dutch had before occupied the abandoned Cape and a few miles beyond it; and passing the intervening coasts, settled Delagoa Bay and Natal, in 1720. They also abandoned both those points in 1731; soon after which, the Portuguese re-occupied as far as Delagoa Bay from Inhambane: the space of coast from Delagoa Bay to the eastern limits of the Cape colony never being again possessed by Europeans until 1824. Mr. Farewell's acquisition from Chaka then vested the sovereignty in his Majesty, unconnectedly in title with the Cape, although communication was made to his Excellency Lord Charles Somerset, as the nearest authority to whom it would probably be subjected, and with whom communication was had for other purposes, as in regard to obtaining passes for men. There seems to

be no doubt, that a foreign power in possession of Natal, and in connexion with Mozambique or Bourbon might obtain great influence over the tribes, and prove a troublesome enemy in support of a disaffected population within the colony, in a future war. Upon all the foregoing accounts, we now trust, this acquisition (not rejected by Lord Charles Somerset, when notified pursuant to his request) will be adopted by his Majesty, and that our special interest in it will be recognised.

" It is not proposed to enter into any extensive plan of colonisation, *or to take a single settler from Europe;* although, if the plan which is proposed succeeds, a new opening will be afforded to such settlers. Not more than six principal white officers, civil and military, would be required for the first three years; most of whom the Cape might supply from the inhabitants generally, as it could the soldiers, mechanics, and labourers, from the civilised Hottentots, now resident within or near the colonial boundaries. The annual expense contemplated would be £5000 sterling; the distribution of which is set out in a paper accompanying the correspondence. Another paper contains the calculation of the articles which would be required at the charge of the public during those three years. It is conceived, that at the end of three years, it would appear, whether the local expenses could be borne by the people in any degree; and whether circumstances would either justify the extension of the contemplated exertions, or afford a reasonable prospect that the effects of what might be already done, would at least be so permanently useful, as not to call for the abandonment of the original limited enterprise.

" I take the liberty of adding, that my brother will soon be in possession of many further details upon all the foregoing points; and I trust that these views will appear to be prac-

tical, and calculated to have so important a bearing upon the great object of African improvement, that an establishment, such as that contemplated in the printed paper, may be thought desirable to be founded at Natal, in order to promote them.

"The obstacles to civilising Africa are not small; but his Majesty has great means for success at command, not yet, I may be permitted to say, enough tried; as,—justice;—the due distribution of the land;—the native trade;—support of the well-disposed white inhabitants—and advancement of the well-disposed natives;—political intercourse with the chiefs;—and education of the people;—upon which topics, we are prepared to shew how the present practice may be essentially improved, without any interference with the established principles of British government.

"S. Bannister.

"To the Secretary of State, &c., &c."

The opinion of the Cape merchants is favourable to the enterprise, which, however, hitherto has not been supported by the government at home, or by the authorities of the Cape; except by the wish which the governor, in 1824, expressed, that the enterprise might succeed. Sir Lowry Cole, the present governor, stated to the parties that he could not perceive the advantages of the proposal; but he declared, he should offer no opinion against them, unless called upon to do so. It is, therefore, to be presumed that no inconvenience will, in his judgment, accrue to the Cape colony from success at Natal. If he had perceived any such inconvenience, no delay would have taken place in communicating it. It has been mentioned in a recent letter from the Secre-

tary of State's office, that " His Majesty's government do not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting these suggestions, as would counterbalance the expense, and other *inconveniences*, which must *inevitably* attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal." The parties are unaware of the nature of these inconveniences; but, as a means of counterbalancing them, they may add to their catalogue of benefits to arise from the settlement, *the assisting to extinguish the slave-trade from Eastern Africa.* It seems probable that further examination of the subject, hitherto little considered, may correct the present impressions upon it, if hastily formed.

That mistakes may be made in regard to this country, which we see has been well known for more than a century, is apparent, from the following passages from professed geographers: " The region beyond the Cape to Delagoa Bay, is less known than any other on the face of the globe." —Maltebrun's Africa, p. 373.

" Beyond the Koussus and Tambookis is deep obscurity." —Pinkerton vol. 2. p. 750.

" The Caffres were *entirely* lost sight of for three centuries."—Lichtenstein.

" Of the long line of country between the colony and the Portuguese settlements, our *only* knowledge is derived from a journey made by some Dutch boors not many years ago, in search of the wreck of the Grosvenor. They scarcely saw a human being in their whole journey."—Quarterly Review for October, 1821, p. 466.

Now we have seen the accounts of this line to be abundant; and the country is certainly full of tribes, in communication with the Cape colony on the one side, and with a populous interior on the other. Upon which grounds, the Natal settlement is submitted to deserve support.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

Narrative of Civil Transactions between the White People and the Aborigines at the Cape of Good Hope.

So far as the progress of the Cape of Good Hope has affected the natives, its history differs little from that of other colonies. Here, as elsewhere, ignorance and a kindly disposition towards strangers, yielded to the more crafty Europeans, immediate advantages, which no respect for the unsophisticated injunctions of their own religion, and no scruples of pity for the sufferings they inflicted, or regard for their own permanent interests, led the Europeans to decline a compensate. Deficiency in weapons, and the worse than idle reports of some early navigators, as to the inferiority of intellect in the Hottentots, exposed them especially to insult and injuries, little noticed in Europe until a very late period. Individuals, however, of that nation have at all times given proof of great spirit and respectable talents; and some have formed equal connexions in marriage with white men: whilst, however, the mass of them, when first discovered by Europeans, resembled other tribes placed in similar circumstances; and in many important points were in the

same condition in which the inhabitants of the interior parts of England were found in Cæsar's time. Although the occupation of the Cape in 1652, was not at the outset that absolute usurpation, which for many years has disgraced both the English and Dutch Governments, and which is at this moment in destructive activity, it partook much of the same character. The failure also to do justice between man and man, and the neglect of all means to promote civilisation, will be found to mark our proceedings from the first to the last; and a readiness will be but too apparent, to attribute the continued barbarism of the natives to their inherent vices; although we have never ceased to treat them in a manner that would have reduced the most refined to an equal barbarism. All motives for exertions, and the means of useful activity, have been studiously denied to them, in order that their personal services might be devoted to masters. Other conquests have, at least, left a portion of property to the conquered, who have held the soil, however burdened with tribute to the conquerors.

The good dispositions of the Hottentots, and the ill-treatment which they and the Caffres met with from the first, are fully proved by the three following documents.

Extract from Governor Van Riebeck's original Journal.

" December 13, 1652.

" To-day the Saldiniers (Hottentots) came with thousands of cattle and sheep close to our fort; so that their cattle nearly mixed with ours. Nevertheless we could not succeed in traffic, as they bring only now and then a lean beast or sheep; so that we bartered not more than twenty sheep, two cows, and five calves, they being very reluctant to part

with their cattle. We feel vexed to see so many fine herds of cattle, and not to be able to buy to any considerable extent. And although, in order to make them *greedy*, and to allure them, we offered one-half more copper for every beast than we had bought for hitherto, and treated them besides in the most friendly manner, we could not induce them. Whether they are already overstocked with copper, as there is perhaps little consumption amongst them, or whether they leave off by ill-will and instigation, we cannot guess: but it would be a pity to see these herds depart without being able to buy some more. If it had been indeed allowed, we had opportunity enough to deprive them to-day of ten thousand head: which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect, can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us; and if we had once such a stock we could keep it well enough by breeding, and need not fear that the English who touch here would spoil the cattle trade with the natives. They give us every day cause enough by stealing and carrying off the effects of our people, by which we shall be justified in revenging ourselves, and in having our indemnity on them and their cattle. If we cannot obtain the cattle from them by friendly trade, why should we suffer their stealing, and carrying away without taking revenge? which need only to be done once; and with 150 men, 10 or 11,000 head of black cattle might be obtained, without danger of losing one man; and *many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they still always come to us unarmed.* But this requires more deliberation and wiser consideration than mine, and only offers itself here incidentally, being fit, after greater experience, to be deliberated upon, and carried into effect upon orders from higher authority."

" December 16, 1652.

" The Hottentot Harry (employed by us as interpreter) told us that after the departure of the Saldiniers, another tribe called Vismen (fishmen), would come with black cattle, without sheep; and if we were willing to show him and the Saldiniers friendship, we must kill them, and take their cattle for ourselves, which was easy to be done, as they were but few in number. On which we replied, that we treated every one that came to trade with us as friends, without distinction of Fishman, Waterman, or Saldanhaman. We had arrived with copper and tobacco, to exchange it for cattle, but not to injure any body; but to live as well with the one as with the other, in friendship. This appeared to please him in as far as it regarded the Saldiniers, but not that we refused to ruin the fishmen: *which is as yet too soon, as it ought at first to be examined into, as to what advantage may be derived from it for the Honourable Company.*"

" December 18, 1652.

" To-day the Saldiniers came again, with thousands of cattle close to the fort, nay, entered almost the gate; but they were not much inclined to trade, so that we obtained not more than two cows and seven sheep. Harry also informed us, that in future we should obtain only a cow or a sheep, as they had received a good deal of copper from us, which they are busy in working into arm-rings, and chains for ornament. *If no further trade is to be expected with them, what would it matter much to take at once six or eight thousand beasts from them? There is opportunity enough for it, as they are not strong in number, and very timid: and since not more than two or three men, often*

graze a thousand cattle close to our cannon, who might be easily cut off. And as we perceive that they place every confidence in us, and bring their cattle without apprehension to graze, so close to the fort, *we allure them still with show of friendship, to make them the more confident ;* as well in order to do, perhaps, something for the Honourable Company, by trade or otherwise; as also to have the better opportunity, one day or another (when we shall have obtained orders to that effect,) to deprive them of their cattle, easily, without drawing a sword, and to take it for the Honourable Company ; for it is vexatious to see so much cattle, so *necessary* for the refreshment of the Honourable Company's ships, of which it is not every day that any can be obtained by friendly trade."—*Van Riebeck's Journal.*

This unfeeling disregard to the plainest dictates of humanity and justice is far from unparalleled in the history of the 16th and 17th centuries ; and is not adduced in order to cast odium upon an otherwise respectable man ; but we are bound to acknowledge the truth, that the excellent laws of the mother country went very little beyond the closet of the legislator. A better use may be made of Van Riebeck's reflections, than to express general indignation at their iniquity. We may, without much risk of error, attribute the failure of the aborigines in civilisation, to the acts of oppression, which must spring from such principles; and instead of casting barren reproaches upon this governor, we should consider if our own proceedings are so much more just, as we flatter ourselves we exceed him in practical humanity. There are circumstances in the case common to us both.

It was not the spirit of his country that misled him. The Dutch slave-trade had then scarcely begun. It was but sixteen years before the date of his journal that the law of 1636 had been passed; and the rejection of his horrid proposals proves right feelings to have still prevailed at home. An influence which has survived the 17th century, overcame Van Riebeck—namely, the influence of short-sighted selfishness in the colony; and to this hour all governors are more or less exposed to the same kind of local cupidity; and very few indeed possess the courage or the good fortune to struggle successfully against it.

Voet published his Commentary on the Pandects in 1698, and as he says "advisedly omits" the Roman laws upon the management of slaves, "Christians having almost abolished slavery." So that if a slave entered Holland he would become free. "If, however," he adds, "Christians, at war with barbarians, take any prisoners, they are made slaves by way of retaliation. And thus the Roman laws upon slaves are to be acted upon, as the states have decreed, with this caution, that they be not treated ill, nor worked upon Sunday, or other holidays." This doctrine he notices as specially referring to the colonies, and quotes the law, which is extracted in the title-page.—Voet de Statu Hominum, lib. 1.

In 1531, the High Court at Malines had decided, that slaves who escaped into Flanders were freed; "propter libertatis personarum usum, hic per aliquot sæcula continue observatum." Even in 1736 the Dutch courts differed upon the legality of restoring to the masters runaway slaves, if found in Holland; and so late as 1776, it was thought necessary to settle all doubts on the subject by an act of the legislature.—Observations upon Grotius' Dutch Law, vol. 4.

obs. 16. p. 64., and see Bynkershoek. Quæst. Jur. Publ. lib. 1. cap. 3.

The feelings which prevailed in Holland in 1652 seem to have been sound, so far as they were carried; but it was soon found that the Colonial Dutch, out of sight of an impartial European public, would not scruple to seize by force the share in the soil, which they failed to acquire by a just compensation to the owners.

Second Document.

" In 1659,* a tribe disputed the possession of the Cape with the new settlers; alleging that they had always inhabited the country. On this occasion they slew many of the colonists, and carried off their cattle. They were led by two experienced Hottentots, named Garabinga and Nomoa; of whom the latter had been at Batavia five or six years. After remaining some time amongst the Dutch he joined his countrymen, informing them of the hostile intentions, to which they were exposed; and instructing them in the use of fire-arms.

" After three months fighting, Nomoa and four others seized two oxen, for which five Dutch horsemen pursued them. At length, two of the Hottentots being killed, and a third desperately wounded, the other two escaped by swimming over a river. The wounded man, named Ep-Kamma, was shot through the neck, had a leg broken and his skull fractured.

* The story in the text is translated from Dapper's Africa. In the Modern Universal History, vol. 15. p. 511, it is told from La Croix.

Being brought into the fort, and asked why his countrymen made war upon the Dutch, he demanded, 'why the Dutch ploughed and sowed his countrymen's lands, where their cattle always fed; thereby depriving them of food?' and he boldly added, 'that they fought to revenge the wrongs they suffered. Not only were they now prohibited to approach the pastures they had enjoyed so long in peace, and which the Dutch came upon at first by sufferance only, but they also saw the rest divided amongst the colonists without any remuneration.' He further asked, 'How the Dutch would act, if treated so?' and concluded, that 'their daily increase of forts could only intend the total subjugation of the Hottentots.'

"The Dutch replied, that 'the Hottentots had lost the country in fair fighting, and ought not to think of regaining it.'

"The last words of Ep-Kamma were, that 'he was but a mean person; and if the Dutch wished for peace, they should invite his chief to a treaty, and prevent further mischief by proposing a mutual and just restoration of what each side had lost.'

"The war, however, was carried on furiously for many months, when at last a Hottentot chief, imprisoned on Robben Island, escaping, persuaded his people to propose peace. They came in a body of one hundred, unarmed, with a present of cattle in token of good will; and asked, that the former intercourse should be restored. This was agreed to; and further, that the Dutch should sow any of the land within three hours' walk of the fort. Upon ratifying this reconciliation, the Hottentots were entertained with bread, tobacco, and brandy; and received a present of beads and copper."

Third Document.

" Since our last dispatch no particular events have taken place, except the provisional alteration about the opened free traffic with the Hottentots, which the greatest necessity has urged us to make, according to our resolution of October 27, 1702, occasioned by the intolerable and continued excesses of some of the free inhabitants, in committing acts of violence, with robberies and murders, and, by these abominable means, depriving these poor people of their subsistence, consisting solely of their cattle."

After references to former Dispatches upon the like outrages—to the Revenge of the Aborigines upon innocent Settlers—and to Military Expeditions of Government to repress them, the Dispatch proceeds :—

" We may not neglect to shew how the last troop of these violent freebooters, having cast their eyes on a certain nation, called Cabuquas, or the Great Caffres, more than 120 leagues from this castle, marched on the 22d of March, last year, without giving the least notice of their design, or, on their return, any account of their proceedings, although absent seven months.

" But as many of those called barterers are in the habit of spending their booty in great riot, and so they betray themselves, the governor was informed that they had entered into a bond not to reveal their deeds, or what happened on these journeys; by the which, (and the more so as these marauders have returned with a large quantity of cattle and sheep,) the Governor has been moved to cause seven Dutch-

men of the troop to be heard on interrogatory, who, after much trouble, have confessed unanimously, how they, being with their Hottentot attendants, ninety in number, attacked the said Caffres, and robbed them and two kraals of Hottentots of great herds of cattle and sheep, killing numbers of the people.

"And there have been examined also, by separate interrogatories, some from the number of the Hottentot attendants, who understood the Dutch language well enough, and they agreed in their testimony as to the enormity of the outrages committed by the party, instead of their carrying on a fair barter.

"From all which reasons, &c. we have unanimously resolved, in order to preserve the general peace of this government, and to protect the aborigines *in future* from such violences done to them so unjustly by nearly half of the inhabitants, by the abuse of this opened free barter, not to abolish it altogether, but to discontinue the same provisionally, on pain of transgressors being punished in life and limb, according to circumstances.

"Regarding the well-deserved punishment which these barterers ought to receive, we have as yet *not dared* to proceed about it, because the half of the colony would be ruined, so great is the number of the inhabitants implicated, whose poor wives and innocent children would fall into the deepest misery: besides which, it is much to be feared that as soon as the Fiscal or Landdrost should commence to apprehend some of them, the others would fly into the country, in order to escape the well-deserved punishment: in which case, this unprotected, waste, and mountainous country would become entirely exposed, and the other good inhabitants be insecure in their homes.

" We are, to the best of our knowledge, of opinion, that this business being of such vast consequence to the colony, *ought to be passed over*, with the intention to take good care that no *further opportunity be given* to commit such acts."—*Extract from a Dispatch sent to Holland in* 1702, *by the Governor and Council of the Cape of Good Hope.*

APPENDIX, No. 3.

Sketch of Civil Affairs at the Cape of Good Hope, unto October 1829.

The three documents in No. 2, contain examples of the ordinary practices at the Cape towards the natives for upwards of a century; namely, aggressions unprovoked, and deferred redress, together with rigorous prohibitions of intercourse, which could never be entirely prevented; and strict injunctions against encroachments upon the native lands, which, however, were no sooner thronged by the trespassing parties, than the government extended its bounds, and so rewarded the delinquents. In this way the colony was spread from the three hours from Table Bay, to Hottentots' Holland,—then to Swellendam—then to the Camtoos River—then to the Fish River—then, in 1825 and 1829, to the Keiskamma—to the heads of the Key and the Cradock, with perhaps more intervening stopping-places and as frequent protestation to remain content with the last reached limit.

Previous to 1795 great reforms were resolved upon in Holland in regard to Cape transactions; and Sir James Craig, the first English governor of the Cape, adopted all the just views which were beginning to favour the aborigines in the time of our Batavian predecessors. His Ex-

cellency's testimony to the merit of the Hottentot soldiers; his steady support of the Moravians, the only missionaries in the colony in his time; and his firm repression of an attempt to seize the lands on the Koonap, have been well recorded by Mr. Barrow to Sir James's lasting praise. In other respects he does not appear to have entertained very enlightened views in regard to the frontiers; but passed the old systems, gencrally, unchanged to his successor, who also followed the beaten track on that head; although his Lordship, equally with Sir James Craig, was plainly impressed with kindly intentions towards the natives.

A treaty was made with Gaika in 1798, upon the occasion, when Mr. Barrow was first in Caffreland; and the false principle of non-intercourse was then persevered in with the utmost rigour. The treaty provides, that no Caffres should pass the boundaries; and, "that none of Gaika's subjects should have any intercourse whatever with the colonists." Upon this occasion too the error was again committed of treating with one chief as the sovereign of the country, although he expressly disclaimed the sole authority; as he did afterwards in 1817. Even at this period, the mistake which led to much mischief, before it was corrected in 1823, was inexcusable, as means existed of learning that numerous Caffres, more immediately in contact with the colony, were independent of Gaika; and they had been the most deeply injured by the boors.* This disregard of national rights deserves to be contrasted with the benevolent objects of the following proclamations, which seem to have been the result of the mission to Gaika.

* "Remarques Generales sur le Cap de Bonne Esperance. Par Le Baron de P., Secretaire Prive du Gouverneur."—This pamphlet was printed in 1803, at the Cape: and see De Jong and Le Vaillant.

" June 27, 1797.

" Whereas the *unlimited* intercourse between the people of this colony and the Caffres, occasions many serious inconveniences: to obviate which, I have directed the Landdrost of Graff-Reinet, not to suffer any Caffres henceforth to pass and re-pass the established limits of their territory, without being provided with badges of authority so to do, or with a passport signed and sealed by the said Landdrost; and in order the more effectually to obviate the inconveniences resulting from the present state of intercourse; *I have judged it expedient to require that all inhabitants who have in their service, or in any other manner harbour any Caffres, shall, within twelve months liberate and discharge the same, and provide themselves with other servants or slaves.*

" MACARTNEY."

" July 14, 1798.

" Whereas, hitherto no exact limits have been marked out, respecting the boundaries between this colony and the Caffres, and in consequence of such limits not being regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of this settlement, have united in *injuring the peaceable possessors of those countries,* and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing and various other irregularities in order to support life.

" I, therefore, after having previously taken proper information on the subject, have thought it expedient for promoting the welfare of this settlement, and establishing good order in the remote districts of it, to fix the following

mentioned places, to be in future the boundaries of the colony, viz. :—

" Between the inhabitants and the Caffres.

" 1. The *Great Fish River*, as far as the *Esterhuyzes Post* at the *Kachas*.

" 2. The whole of the *Kachas Mountains* as far as the *Tarka Mountains*.

" 3. From the *Tarka Mountains*, to the *Bamboes Mountains*.

" 4. From the *Bamboes Mountains*, to the *Zuure Mountain*.

" 5. From the *Zuure Mountain*, to the *Beacon*, situate on the *Zeekoe River*.

" And, whereas it is necessary that those boundaries should be duly observed, I, therefore, most strictly forbid all and every one of the inhabitants of this colony from settling themselves, or permitting their cattle to pass beyond those limits, under the penalty of immediate confiscation of all their cattle, to be applied to the benefit of the colony, and as a disobedient subject to be banished from this settlement.

" And it is also hereby declared unlawful, under pain of corporal punishment, for any person under pretence of hunting sea-cows, or elephants, or of taking a journey into the interior, to pass beyond the aforesaid limits, unless with a pass from the governor.

" Macartney."

In recording these proclamations, and in venturing to impute error to the policy of non-intercourse thus continued, it is not intended to stigmatise his Lordship's motive. The benevolent proclamation of the 24th of July, 1798, in favour of specific measures devised for the Boschiesmen, by Mr. Floris Vischer, of the Middle Roggeveld,

and Mr. J. Gideon Louw, of the Hantam, amply vindicate his intentions towards the aborigines; and there are no reasons for believing that Lord Macartney approved the mischievous principle which his secretary, Barrow, introduced into the *second edition* of his Travels, as to ruling South Africa with the well-known "rod of iron."

The "*peaceable possessors*," whom the governor wishes to protect, were those whom he so little considered,—as to pretend to settle their most important interests, without consulting them, although their independence could not be disputed. It cannot be thought strange, that a short peace only ensued, before all was again in open confusion on the eastern district. In 1799, the claims of the Caffres, (then firmly *settled far to the West of the Fish River*, after fairly beating the boors, and repulsing the English;) and the grievances of the Hottentots were more distinctly learned by the same envoy, who has preserved a record of them in a second volume of his travels. The title of T'Conga's tribe of those Caffres, seems to be admitted by Barrow: and Sir George Yonge,* the governor, in the next year, considered it even politic to encourage the residence of some of them west of the Fish River, separate from Gaika's people. This was probably upon reasons of policy only; as no intention seems yet to have been entertained of attempting to civilise the Caffres, or to intermix them gradually with ourselves. His Excellency however carried his views beyond a mere political division of a formidable enemy, into the prospects of one day honourably acquiring more extended limits to the colony.

* See above, p. 80., and below, p. cxxvii.

Sir G. Yonge at this time declared " That he did not apprehend the peace would be broken on the part of the Caffres, provided we took care to preserve it inviolate towards them."

That the governor well appreciated the feelings of Gaika, at least, may be collected from the following letter, written by Dr. Vander Kemp, at this time from Caffreland.

Translation of a Letter to the Fiscal.

" River Debe,
" Caffraria, May 14, 1800.

" Sir,

" Although since my letter of the 21st of February nothing of consequence has happened, I am unwilling to let an opportunity pass without writing to you.

" I cannot yet say any thing of the success of my endeavours to teach the gospel to this people. The want of a sufficient knowledge of the language much impedes my progress; and the bulk of the nation shew no desire for instruction in doctrines utterly strange to them. It is somewhat otherwise with the chief, Gaika; with one kraal of Hottentots who remain here; and some Caffres, dwelling on the Bosjeman's River, who appear not indifferent; and to them I now confine my attention.

" Gaika himself applied to me for instruction, and proceeded so far in a short time as to know all the characters of our language, so as to reduce the Caffre tongue to writing; but his occupation not allowing him to remain long at one spot the lessons were interrupted.

" Although neither my principles, nor the nature of my vocation, allow me to meddle with the politics of a country

where I am a stranger, I consider it not improper to mention what will be a gratifying circumstance to you. It is, that on the suggestion of Conrad Buys, Gaika has declared himself ready to enter into the following terms with the government :—

" 1st. He will engage to live at peace with the colony.

" 2d. He will withdraw all support from the Caffres, now over the Fish River.

" 3d. He will support the government against those Caffres.

" 4th. Provided, that if they come into Caffreland voluntarily; or if they are driven thither, government shall not follow them, nor interfere with him in regard to them.

" Buys took an occasion to settle these points from a pretended authority being sent by four boors, that peace should be proposed. It being understood, that the agency of Buys would not be approved in the colony, he hesitated to inform Mr. Maynier of Gaika's favourable disposition ; but on my persuasion has since done so, through the Reverend Mr. Ballot.

" Should this tend to stop bloodshed, and promote peace between the two nations, I should consider myself happy.

" Gaika is somewhat surprised, and even dissatisfied, at the delay of the pretended envoys; but still preserves his favourable sentiments unchanged.

" Praying God, that through a good intelligence with Gaika, tranquillity may be restored upon the borders.

" I have the honour, &c. &c.

" J. T. Vander Kemp."

The same governor has left another document of this period, which illustrates several points noticed in these papers.

"It would be good," says his Excellency, "that the favourable views of Gaika, were more decided. But I think, that so long as he listens to Buys, instead of giving us his confidence, little permanent good will can be expected from him. These people being of fickle disposition, and easily prejudiced against their best friends, will always be led away by the ill-designing.

"This makes it highly desirable, that we could induce him to receive *a resident agent* from us, to state the truth upon all occasions, and to instil into him an habitual inclination to be at peace with us. I can perceive no objection to this measure; and it might lead to this person Buys being eventually removed from Caffreland, or it might at least prevent him doing mischief.

"I wish this could be accomplished; not indeed that the commissioner of the frontier should go to induce Gaika to receive such an agent, as *the embassy would neither be consistent with his dignity, nor to that of the government.* Some messengers might be sent from Graaff Reinet, of whom one might remain behind, if allowed. I should not approve of missionaries being employed; for although they may be willing to serve the government well, and would do so for a time, *there is reason to think they have ulterior views; and that under pretext of the public service, they will endeavour to render* government dependant upon them; and so may lead Gaika as they please.*

* "There is reason to think they have ulterior views," &c.

It was unworthy the character of Sir George Yonge, to listen to this most improbable notion, however wise it was to look for politicians to

" In reference to the proposal to destroy the Hottentots, I can only say, the report of it made my blood run cold. A campaign with the boors, would be wisely risked to protect them; but I hope matters will not be carried to that extremity, and every exertion must be used to secure quiet.

" Perhaps means may be devised for deriving advantages from the present dissensions amongst the Caffres. It is to be wished that they were prevented passing the Great Fish River; and that it was the boundary between us. This should never be lost sight of; and although our strength may not be sufficient to accomplish it, circumstances may favour us in bringing it about. Thus, if the dissensions still subsist between Gaika and the Caffres on this side, he may be induced to wish them not to remain there; and if the object be not gained by this means, perhaps a considerable present might, by way of purchase, lead to the cession of all the country occupied by Caffres on this side that river.

" The honour of government, and tranquillity, must be sedulously maintained, together with good order in the interior. If men see peace and justice impartially and vigilantly sought in the remote districts, the best consequences may be looked for. Upon any other principles, government will lose respect, and be unceasingly troubled with intrigues and corrupt practices.

" George Yonge."

other quarters. Its origin may be traced without great difficulty :—" The more moral and serious colonists," says one of the early missionaries in South Africa, " gave me every assistance in their power. Those who opposed us, were generally uncivilised and ungodly men, who were led astray by our enemies, *and pretended to suspect me of political views.*"—Transactions of the Missionary Society for 1803, vol. 2, p. 42.

Dr. Philip, in noticing the imputation, justly declines to give it a serious answer.—Dr. Philip's Researches, 2, p. 238.

Sir Francis Dundas had previously succeeded Lord Macartney; and both, when sole governor, and when acting under his Excellency, Sir George Yonge, seemed, equally with him, desirous to act justly towards the aborigines.

He fully adopted Sir George Yonge's views, relative to the Caffres then settled west of the Fish River; and in 1800 sent a specific proposal to Dr. Vander Kemp, to form a missionary institution amongst T'Conga's tribe there.

It is painful to reflect that both of these excellent governors failed, as we shall soon see, to apply the true principles to the attainment of the good objects, which it is plain both pursued with sincerity.

Mr. Barrow has recorded the grievances of the Hottentots, which he learned upon this second mission from Klaas Stuurman, a name that can never be mentioned without exciting regret, that the same wrongs which the British government professed anxiety to repair in his person, against the Dutch boors, should to this day be inflicted by ourselves upon his unfortunate family.*

Stuurman complained that the boors had first stripped his countrymen, and then forced them into slavery. With a view to a settlement of these grievances, "we prevailed upon Klaas," says Barrow, "to deliver up their arms, and in the mean time to follow the troops, until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare."—Barrow's South Africa, 403.

The confidence thus placed in us by the Hottentots, promised the best consequences; which were defeated by a sinister rumour of our intentions being treacherous. Barrow

* See Appendix, No. 14, for an account of the sufferings of David Stuurman, who is now in Botany Bay; and for some details relative to an attempt to procure his release from unjust and illegal transportation.

states that a reconciliation with the boors was likely to have been produced by the plans contemplated: the nature of which may be conjectured from the following letters of the two governors, written at this period:—

"January 20, 1800.

"A registration of the Hottentots will be an admirable measure for their protection. Whatever prejudiced persons may urge,—the suggestion is so well borne out by justice and good policy, that every one will soon concur in applauding it. "FRANCIS DUNDAS."

"January 29, 1800.

"It is of the first importance to the public peace, as well as for the welfare of the Hottentots, that they should be fixed *upon lands, where they may be quiet, and obtain a suitable subsistence.*

"I trust that many of them may be prevailed upon to return to the boors, and work peaceably for their living; but all who cannot go back without opening the old wounds afresh, should be sent to vacant spots in Graaff Reinet; to which their titles shall be made out regularly,* and in the usual manner, in the books at the Cape. Our just views for the improvement of their condition, must be carried into effect gradually. "FRANCIS DUNDAS."

"February 16, 1800.

"As part of the plan for tranquillising the interior, is to make a registry of the Hottentots, with a detail of their respective situations, their services, and the conditions upon which they are contracted to their masters, I have ordered

* The legal difficulties afterwards opposed to Hottentots obtaining land seem unknown at this period; see the chapter on that head.

the Landrosts of Swellendam and Stellenbosch to draw up similar papers for their district.

* * * * * *

" The fiscal is drawing up measures to ensure the administration of justice.* " GEORGE YONGE."

" February 27, 1800.

" Our chief immediate object is to fix Stuurman and the other Hottentot leaders, with their people, in a suitable place for their subsistence. This point is essential to the general tranquillity. " FRANCIS DUNDAS."

" March 17, 1800.

" The movements of the Hottentots about Sunday River are calculated to excite the greatest anxiety, notwithstanding the good intentions of their chiefs. They must be carefully observed. I am satisfied that some of the boors are ill-disposed, and weak enough to desire the revival of the late confusions. We must lose no opportunity of counteracting their designs by every method that will secure the attachment of the Hottentots to the government.

" *A suitable place must be found for those who are unwilling to return to the boors; and we must assure their kraals that they may live safe under the protection of government, with their wives, their children, and cattle.*

" This government is, indeed, so strongly inclined to provide for their wants, that a sum of money is ready to be appropriated to procure corn, and some cattle to enable them to commence as agriculturalists; and if any individual could be found capable of managing such an establishment, I would gladly found a community of them, like that at

* This letter states, that there was tranquillity amongst the Caffres and Hottentots at this time, February, 1800; but the promised justice was put off.

Bavian's Kloof. Probably it might be arranged to give to each chief a separate farm, where he might dwell with his followers in peace. I cannot state my conviction too strongly, that at this moment every thing ought to be urgently forwarded to give the Hottentots satisfaction.

"FRANCIS DUNDAS."

"April 7, 1800.

"In regard to the fugitive Hottentots, I cannot say at present more than that some may, perhaps, return to their employers, who will then learn from the government the propriety and advantage of treating them well, if they behave well. In regard to other inhabitants—I mean the Hottentots who may come in without entering into any service—it may be necessary to assist them, to induce or invite them to reassemble into kraals, and to choose a place for their abode: taking care of their wants, under regulations adapted to maintain their adherence to us, which I doubt not may be accomplished. * * * In settling these free Hottentots it will be proper to place them, with their consent, something further off from the Caffres and the boundaries of the colony, than where they are now. "GEO. YONGE."

"December 30, 1800.

"The commissioners have visited several Caffre chiefs on both sides the Fish River, who are all peaceably inclined, except Gaika. They have also visited the Boschiesman's kraals, and several Hottentot also, who are all peaceable and well inclined; nor do they mention any complaints of thefts. "GEORGE YONGE."

The preceding seven documents, with Barrow's notes, seem to prove incontestably, that the natives deserved support; and that the fault was not theirs, if this year of excel-

lent beginning, ended in disappointment. Their wrongs were not disputed; the reparation due was distinctly understood; but month after month passed away apparently without the settlement of a single grievance, although it is asserted that some of the Hottentots went back, as was so much desired by the government, to the boors, as labourers.*

Under these circumstances, so little creditable to the vigour and consistency of the British governors, it is not surprising to find Sir George Yonge perplexed with fresh violences on the part of these people. The following notes were written a few weeks before his Excellency left the colony, with his good intentions unexecuted:—

"March 29, 1801.

"I have reason to believe, that the Hottentots, instead of applying to government when in want, often resort to plunder, thus outraging the protection they enjoy: and, as they once suffered wrong from the boors, now they are encouraged to do violence on their part. This will lead to great evils if not checked in time; the task may be difficult, but it must be endeavoured to support the execution of the laws every where. Diligent search must be made after the robbers on this occasion; and it will be proper to call on T'Konga to aid in it. "GEORGE YONGE."

Of the nature of the complaints made at this period against the Hottentots, by the boors, Sir George Yonge had some proof, in the misrepresentations made by a leading colonist, Henry Rensburg, to the government, shortly before the date of the last letter. His Excellency states the the circumstance, that "Rensburg had written a list of

* The pamphlet of the Baron von P. p. 10.

robberies by Hottentots, evidently intended to raise alarms, and full of falsehood;" adding, "that he should be put down, and perhaps banished from Graaff Reinet." This man, nevertheless, prevailed in securing the sanction of government all this year, to most illegal and imprudent courses: and at length, although he was clearly convicted of great crimes, he was slightly punished by the Dutch; and afterwards restored by us to the scene of his lawless violence.

The year 1800 had been a period of marked imprudence on the part of the government, and was followed by one of disturbance. The whole eastern districts were scenes of confusion, and they were almost abandoned to the outraged and successful natives. Dr. Vander Kemp having come from Caffreland towards the end of 1801, with the intention of returning thither, accompanied by other missionaries recently arrived from Europe, was induced by Sir Francis Dundas, to form a congregation of Hottentots within the colony. This was at Graaff Reinet, and the governor soon sanctioned another missionary institution near Algoa Bay, to which considerable aid was given from the public purse. No sufficient provision, however, was yet made for the execution of justice between man and man; and violent counsels were listened to, until during 1802, the coloured people were driven to desperation, and obtained a short-lived vindication by violence, which the government ought to have taken better means to prevent. The following letters will bring this narrative down to the end of the first occupation of the colony by us, more acceptably than any other means of telling the story. They will be read with interest, as characteristic of an eminent person, Dr. Vander Kemp; whatever support they may be thought to afford to the views contained in this volume.

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Fiscal.

"Graaff Reinet, November 12, 1801.

"He that runs may perceive, that the unchristian and inhuman dislike which the boors bear to the poor oppressed heathen being taught the gospel, and the cruelties inflicted upon these unfortunate beings, are evidently amongst the causes of God's heavy chastisement of this country.

"* * * In my opinion there is no other way of saving this country, than by the government doing justice to the natives. In no other way can the boors escape the hand of Providence than by acknowledging their guilt, and humbly returning to the duty they have shamefully neglected.

"* * * I cannot doubt, for one instant, that God will protect the poor Hottentots; and I deem the brave General Dundas happy in supporting that cause with so much equity and perseverance, according to the means at his command. I heartily implore a blessing upon his Excellency for his determination, after rescuing the supreme authority from the violence of seditious men, to listen effectually to the complaints of the poor. * * * "J. T. VANDER KEMP."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Sir F. Dundas.

"Graaff Reinet, December 10, 1801.

"SIR,

"The second of this month I was honoured by your Excellency's letter, by which it pleased your Excellency to approve of and confirm the sketch of the intended Hottentot settlement which I had the honour to submit to your Excellency's examination. A few hours before I received it, my associate, Read, set off to Algoa Bay, in order to inspect the country above Van Stade's River and Loery River, which Lieut. Campbell has pointed out already, by your Excellency's command, as the most eligible place for the

new establishment. Since that time the Landrost Bresler informed me he has received your Excellency's orders to accompany me in my journey to Van Stade's River, in order to facilitate the execution of the plan we have in view. He is perfectly, with me, convinced, that no time ought to be lost; and that the irregularities committed by the Hottentots in general at Graaff Reinet, loudly call for their removal from the place with all possible speed. He is, at the same time, of opinion, that prudence requires us to suspend our journey till the dangers, which he apprehends that he might be exposed to from the plundering Caffres, Hottentots, and discontented colonists, shall have disappeared. I am not able to judge of the reality of these dangers; but know it my duty to submit, in this respect, to the desire of Major Sherlock and the Landrost: nor do I deny that the raising an institution of the kind in the midst of a race of men, who, though called Christians, are mortal enemies to the communication of real Christianity to the poor heathen, may be attended with difficulties, opposition, and even danger; and it will require a considerable degree of circumspection, patience, and time, to overcome these obstacles. Nothing, however, is impossible, with the help of Him, who commanded light to shine out of darkness.

" It has always been my humble opinion, which I presume to lay before your Excellency, as you give me leave to communicate my ideas on this subject to you, that missionary settlements, for the instruction of the heathen vagabondising in this colony, might be settled with considerable advantage upon the borders of government territory, on a piece of ground given to them with exclusion of the colonists, and extended between the Namaquas, Bushmen, and Caffres, on one side, and the Christians on the other. Which settle-

ment may at once serve to Christianise the Hottentots and adjacent nations, and furnish a better sort of voluntary labourers for the service of the farmers; and to clear the colony in a more efficacious manner of the wandering Hottentots.

" But though these be my ideas, the small number of my fellow-labourers in this country, who are all stationed elsewhere, prevents my applying to your Excellency, at present, for the liberty to form a mission in the vicinity of the Great River, between it and the Tarka, in order to ascertain the practicability and usefulness of the scheme by an actual experiment. " J. T. VANDER KEMP."

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Fiscal.

" Graaff Reinet, December 25, 1801.

" The day before yesterday I discovered a disposition among the Hottentots assembled here, to use force in order to obtain justice in their complaints against the boors, which they have long, and in vain, sought peaceably from the government. I therefore sent for some whom they call their chiefs; and I can depend upon the declarations they make, of *their people desiring nothing more earnestly than to live in obedience to a protecting government; and in friendship with the boors, provided it be finally and clearly settled that their wives, and children, and cattle, now withheld from them, be restored.* They say that to their humblest application for this they lately received replies which promised no benefit; and that they *could not answer for their people remaining still, unless government will do justice on their well-founded complaint.*

" I represented to them the great risk they run of being

utterly destroyed, if they should break out into acts of violence; since, after the English troops * should be withdrawn, they would be exposed to vengeance. For the present, I recommended them to leave their wives, children, and cattle, amongst the boors; and to request permission, if this district was to be evacuated, to accompany the soldiers towards the Cape, to gain the acknowledgment of their rights there, away from their enemies; and to obtain a tract of land for themselves, separate from the boors.

"This step seems to me so much the more important, as the boors will require the Hottentots to be disarmed.

"These chiefs promised to use their best endeavours to induce their people to be quiet; and a boor from Agter-Sneeuberg told me he thought all his neighbours would give up the Hottentots' cattle and families.

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Sir F. Dundas.

"Bota's Place, March 18, 1802.

"I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that on the 20th of February, immediately after the receipt of your Excellency's commands, communicated to me by a letter of Mr. Smyth, we departed from Graaff Reinet, with about 109 Hottentots, including women and children: 190 more, who had expressed their desire to accompany us, were discouraged from undertaking this journey by a false report, forged by a colonist near Graaff Reinet, stating that a commando of peasants lay in wait near the Salt-pan's Neck, to dispute us the passage over the Riet Berg. On the 5th of this month we arrived at the bay, where the uncommon civility

* On the 22nd of December, 1801, the news of the intended restoration of the Cape had reached Graaff Reinet.

of Major Lemoyne exceeded our expectations, and fully answered your Excellency's instructions given to that gentleman in our favour.

" Our number, which during our journey had increased to 221, was that day reduced to 77. This diminution was occasioned, partly by the Hottentot Captain, Weideman, who separated with some of his people from us on the 28th of February; partly by a division of about 100 Hottentots, who, having fears of losing their lives by Thomas Ferreira and the boors assembled at his house, if they should proceed any further with us, chose to stay with Klaas Stuurman, whom we met at the Zwartkops, about 14 miles from Fort Frederick. He treated us friendly, and declared that he wished nothing more than to return to a quiet and peaceable life, if government would assign him a piece of ground, where he and his compatriots could live with a probability of safety, and do justice to him and his nation against the barbarities which the colonists continue to this very day to commit, unpunished, against the most innocent of the Hottentots, and which are indeed numberless and shocking.

" This he desired us to mention to your Excellency. Wishing not to detain you with a tedious account of our further conversation with him, I have communicated the substance of it in a letter to Mr. Ryneveld, who will be able to inform your Excellency of the particulars, in case they be required.

" As with respect to the personal safety of our people, we find ourselves in critical circumstances, Major Lemoyne advised us to request permission to have 25, or more, stand of arms under our care, with a small quantity of powder and shot, sufficient to protect us against the first assault, till we may have time to send to Fort Frederick for assistance. We leave, however, this point entirely to your Excellency's decision. " J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Fiscal.

" Bota's Place, March 18, 1802.

" At length, and we trust under God's guidance, we arrived here on the 7th instant, with 160 Hottentots, including women and children. At the Zwartkops River, about 14 miles from Fort Frederick, we met Klaas Stuurman, and remained with him half-a-day. He complained bitterly of the violence and ill-treatment committed by the boors, under the very eye of government, and with impunity, towards him and his companions. He declared, that they desired nothing more earnestly than to live in quiet, and to have an unoccupied tract of land secured to them, and the ill-usage from the boors, restrained and punished.

" We urged his own acts of violence, counselling him to sue the government to pardon them, and to leave to its wisdom either to punish, or also to pardon, the offences heretofore committed by the boors against Hottentots. We advised him also to use proper means to obtain a tract of land from the government, and to request protection against all future oppressions.

" ' You speak well," said he, ' and I solicit you to communicate all this to the government in my name; but I cannot believe that justice will be done to us. Once I trusted entirely in the English ;* but they seem weak, or unsteady. Nevertheless, I will always respect them, and not hurt a hair of any belonging to them, as I declared but yesterday to Capt. Lemoyne and some officers, who galloped away from me. But so long as government conti-

* This is the same Stuurman, who surrendered his people's arms to us in 1799, in confidence of " arrangements being promised," as already mentioned, and which arrangements were not made.

nues to leave us a prey to the boors, our only duty is to protect ourselves. This is the husband's obligation to his wife—the father to his children.'

" We laboured, to induce Klaas Stuurman to expect more in future from government, by pointing out to him such advantages as the Hottentots already enjoy from its beneficence: and earnestly do I pray God, to move his Excellency to do right, without respect of persons, and to hear the cry of the innocent sufferers. This will again bring God's blessings on a land, which now so visibly bears his curse. When the boors, raised by H. Van Rensburg, were marching to Graaff Reinet, they met two Hottentots who had retired from that place, and shot them in cold blood; but no inquiry was made into the act, or trial of the parties. The Landrost, indeed, told me candidly, that he durst not do justice in the case.

" On our journey hither, we overtook some Hottentots, whom Karel Gerot's murderous commando had shot at indiscriminately, although the poor people relied on a pass, signed by Lieutenant Lindegron. They killed an old woman; and carried off two children belonging to William Jantge, who resides with us. I trust that Major Sherlock, also, will not fear to do justice in the case.

" I could produce a long catalogue of names of Hottentots, whose wives and children, with their cattle, earned by their sweat and labour, are kept back by their former masters, forcibly.

" I do not, however, write thus, doubting that the governor is desirous to redress these excessive grievances; but because I believe justice to be delayed, in consequence of these frightful acts being concealed from his Excellency; and because the consequences of them are so alarming as to admit of no further delay. The business of Klaas Stuur-

man appears to me in a more serious light than I, at the first, apprehended. An accommodation with him seems to be of the most urgent necessity, to the safety of this district; and that will never be effected, if justice be not done, and the oppressions committed by the boors, exemplarily punished.

"I am desirous of being informed, whether the Hottentots of this institution are included in the proclamation which forbids barter in cattle, with strange Hottentots and Caffres. Under proper restrictions, it would be exceedingly beneficial to them. We have, however, taken care that some of the cattle stolen from the boors be disposed of here. "J. T. VANDER KEMP."

"P.S. Klàas Stuurman told us some particulars of his action with Tjaard Vander Walt. From his account, compared with Field Cornet Nieukerk's, it appears, that he compelled Tjaard to surrender, and to restore the eleven muskets, which Tjaard had taken in a former action, from the Hottentots. Klaas is now master, from Bosjesman's River, to the Zwartkops; and will, I think, soon fall upon Ferreira's place, against whom he has cause of great exasperation."

"Castle of Good Hope,
"April 12, 1802.

"The desertion of the Hottentots will greatly tend to prevent the humane intentions of government, with respect to them in general, for as long as any of them continue together, committing depredations and murders, it will be impossible to obtain the acquiescence of the Dutch inhabitants to the proposed missionary establishment near Cam-

toos River, without whose concurrence it will be difficult to accomplish this object.

" As the peace and safety of the colonists will depend upon the dispersion of Stuurman and his gang, his Honour particularly recommends you to use all your influence to prevail upon the captains of these hordes to quit their present situations, and submit themselves to such regulations as shall be established by government with respect to them.

" His Honour is perfectly aware of the truth of your remarks, as to the cruel treatment experienced by the Hottentots from the boors; but it must also be remembered, that the Hottentots are charged with the atrocious and unprovoked murder of Van Royen; and, that in the late depredations committed by Stuurman, upon the farmers, near Zwartkops River, a number of Hottentots assisted; and, that in consequence of the statements and complaints of those farmers, his Honour has been obliged to order a commando to assemble, and to march next month to punish the plundering Hottentots and murderers; and to disperse all such as shall not be either established with you, or under the posts, either at Fort Frederick, or at the Drosldy.

" It is with regret that his Honour has been obliged to adopt this measure; he hopes, however, that beneficial effects will arise from it, and that the peace and security of the country will be at length established.

" To prevent, as far as possible, the direful effects of the armed, and the united vengeance of this necessary commando, his Honour particularly requests that you will send messengers to Stuurman and the others, informing them of the determination of government, with respect to them; and, at the same time, to endeavour to convince them how

much they injure their own cause, by enormities similar to those they have lately been guilty of.

" The Landrost Faure, and Major Abercrombie, who will attend the commando, will have the most positive orders to afford to your establishment every protection, and by no means confound such Hottentots as are innocent, with the guilty, whom it is absolutely necessary to punish.

"H. Ross."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Mr. Ross, in reply.

" Bota's Place, April 28, 1802.

" Sir,

" * * * The Hottentots who left us on the road, and joined Klaas Stuurman, did so more from fear that they would be killed by their enemies, if they went on with us. This leaves us not without hope, that the greater part will rejoin us when they hear that their apprehensions were ill-founded, as they will do as soon as communication with them shall be opened. Although I cannot be supposed to have any influence on the mind of Stuurman, I have sent for him, in consequence of your letter, and one from the Fiscal, Ryneveld, (viz. the next) to inform him his Honour's intention; and I will leave nothing untried to induce him to embrace the benevolent offer respecting him, and the Hottentots in general.

" I hope his Excellency will not find that difficulty in establishing the intended settlement, which you seem to apprehend, from the non-concurrence of the Dutch inhabitants, in case any of the Hottentots should continue together committing depredations. Only a little firmness is required, (and who can suppose this to be wanted in General Dundas) to reduce the balance of justice from its present state of civilisation to equilibrium; and I hope the rest will be easy.

But as long as the atrocities of the Dutch farmers against the innocent Hottentots are left unpunished, there will always be assemblies of fugitives extremely inclined to revenge themselves, and we shall in vain expect peace and tranquillity, which commandos (commonly the most guilty employed to murder the innocent, as has lately been the fact,) may subvert, but never can restore. I am, however, happy to learn, that a British officer is placed at the head of the commando mentioned in your letter: this I consider as a step of the greatest mercy, to prevent the cruelties, which otherwise the most innocent might experience, from monsters under his command.

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

The Fiscal to Dr. Vander Kemp, in reply.

"Cape Town, April 12, 1802.

"Your favour of the 18th of last month has given us much concern; for there is nothing at this moment of more importance than the peace of the interior; our own tranquillity here depends upon it. But, alas! we appear to be exposed by fate to uninterrupted commotions. I forthwith translated your letter for the governor, who has the most earnest desire not only to restore peace, but to secure justice to boors, Hottentots, and Caffres, without distinction.

"I must afford you some information touching Klaas Stuurman. I am well aware that the Hottentots generally are ill-treated by the boors, and the government must firmly order a better course, and require strict obedience to its orders. But, as the differences between the two parties are unceasing, we must not protect the Hottentots at the expense of the boors. Both must have justice, and be equally maintained in their rights. You state that 'Klaas Stuurman is

master from Bosjesman's River to the Zwartkops;' but who has given him this dominion? The boor has for many years paid rent and taxes for lands there lawfully granted to him by the government. Who then will justify Stuurman in driving the boor out? If he urge the want of the land for his people, we deny the plea. He does not stand in need of *so extensive a tract*. Nor is his own domicile there, having been bred up in the service of the boors near the Cape, as he will readily allow. At this moment, he belongs to the Hottentots designated as vagabonds, whose renewed outrages against the boors have caused the commando under Vander Walt to be called out.

" Klaas has already attacked Ferreira's place more than once, and now you say is likely to do so again. Is this a proof of his merely acting upon the defensive? or does it show him, as every impartial person will think, to be a robber and murderer? The governor is exceedingly desirous that you would lay all these things before him.

" His Excellency will do every thing to procure justice for all; but the violences of the Hottentots must cease, as well as those of the boors. One party cannot be restrained unless the other keeps within the limits of duty.

" The governor will appoint a special commission to assign lands to Klaas Stuurman and his people, where they may obtain subsistence in peace. But they must be content with it, without trespassing on the possessions of the boors, whose cattle and other plundered property they must restore. Such Hottentots as are inclined to live quietly in this way, are to be provided by the governor, either from the public treasury, or his own purse, with cattle and other stock, to begin with. But it is impossible to attend solely to the interests of the Hottentots. That of the boors, who are now wandering from their homes, requires the best con-

sideration. They must be induced to return, and they must find safety, at the hands of government, upon their farms; whilst, if they misuse the natives, they must be punished severely.

"Such are the views of the government, which surely are founded upon the soundest principles of justice.

"From what I know of your sentiments, I do not doubt you will promote these views by your influence over Stuurman and all the other Hottentots; and every thing is expected from your aid.

"A great commando is ordered out, in order to put the banditti down by force, if their robberies are not discontinued, and the stolen cattle restored. In the mean time, the commission will be appointed to select a spot where the peaceable Hottentots may be safe. At the same time too, government will give public notice that all others may be equally safe, who will take refuge with you, or join Major Lemoyne, at the Zwartkops River, or Major Sherlock, at Graaff Reinet, whilst the commando is out. The commissioner will probably be Major Abercrombie, who will, however, first come to you, and endeavour to communicate with Klaas.

"His Excellency hopes for your co-operation in all that shall tend to peace, and that you will not omit to communicate to himself or to me your views on all that happens.

"Van Ryneveld."

To Mr. Ross.

"Bota's Place, May 10, 1802.

"Sir,

"It is with the liveliest pleasure that I can inform you, that Klaas Stuurman, whom I met last Wednesday, the 5th

instant, at Zwartkops River, has embraced, with cheerfulness, the terms upon which it has pleased his Excellency to promise him safety, and a piece of ground, to be inhabited and cultivated by him and his people, under the protection of government; as expressed in a letter to me written by the Fiscal, Van Ryneveld. All his men who were present were unanimous in approving of his resolution.

" He immediately sent off strict orders to the rest of his associates to abstain from all acts of violence against the boors; but requested, that to prevent new disturbances, orders without delay might likewise be given to the colonists to lay aside their hostilities against the Hottentots.

" In consequence of this request, Major Lemoyne has already taken the necessary steps with respect to some boors in the neighbourhood; and Klaas has withdrawn his people from Zwartkops River to his former station over the Sunday River.

" As to the restoration of the cattle taken from the boors, Klaas himself, previous to my suggesting it, offered to go the next day to the Great Fish River, in order to dispose, if possible, the Caffre captains on this side, to give back as many of the cattle as may be yet among theirs. It is not without hope of success; and gives me a favourable account of the affection of these captains towards government. The issue of this attempt he will let me know immediately after his return.

" He left it to the equity of your Excellency to issue an order, by which the boors should likewise be constrained to give back the women, children, and cattle, which they had extorted, stolen, or kept back by violence from his men, whilst in their service.

" He expressed his gratitude towards government, particularly when I informed him of the general's offer to make

a present to the Hottentots who should return with him, to a peaceable and orderly life, of cattle and provisions, even out of his private purse, if wanted. But he signified that he should prefer a quantity of beads, sufficient to procure from the Caffres three or four head of cattle for each of his people, at a much less expense to the government out of the colony. I only mention this as a proposition of Klaas.

" He also fixed upon a certain spot of ground, the same which he actually occupies; he requested some gunpowder and a ploughshare, &c.; but I observed that Major Abercrombie was fully authorised to treat with him on these points; and that he ought to be convinced that the general's intention was not to deprive him of any article necessary to promote the felicity of him and his nation.

" I thought it, at first, preferable to suspend for three or four days the writing of this letter, till the arrival of Major Abercrombie, whom we expect every moment, should have enabled me give you a more satisfactory account of the further consequences of my preliminary interview with Klaas. But as it seems that this gentleman is detained, I feared that delay might be regarded as a neglect of my duty.

" J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Fiscal.

" Bota's Place, May 24, 1802.

" A few days after my last letter was sent to Mr. Ross, and after I had by the same messenger given some preliminary to Major Abercrombie concerning Klaas Stuurman's disposition to live quietly under the protection of government, it was with no little surprise that I learned from the Major, by a letter, dated at Hagel Kraal, the 17th instant,

' that he had no orders nor instructions whatever from Gen. Dundas to proceed to Fort Frederick, or to interfere with Klaas Stuurman and his people;' nor does he seem to know of any one appointed by the governor to make a final arrangement with Klaas; so that it may be feared, that if no one arrives with authority to insure him safety forthwith, and also to fulfil the promises made to him in other respects, his natural distrust will retard the restoration of tranquillity.

" I have deemed it the more proper to state this, as you may be able to induce his Excellency to do what alone will convince Klaas of our intention to treat him well. He has communicated my message to his people, and his resolution to accept the terms, with his advice that they should follow this example. And I have the satisfaction of stating further, that the greatest number have agreed to do so, except ten or twelve deserters from the Hottentot corps, who were unwilling to give themselves up to their officers. Trompeter, Boesak, and Bovelander, who are called chiefs, have been forward in opposing Klaas Stuurman and his good intentions, and have compelled the well-disposed portion of his people to join them. They have cut off the communications with the Caffres, and prevented the restoration of the stolen cattle; and they have also prevented notice of the governor's offers being delivered to the chief, Weideman, who, with his people, is separated from the rest, and is quiet. Klaas and his brothers have even been plundered by them of arms, clothes, and some cattle lent to them by the Caffres. He himself, however, found means to reach the Caffre chiefs, and he sent one of his people to me yesterday with a verbal message that those chiefs are peaceably disposed to government. This man informed me, that many of the Hottentots under the control of Trompeter and the rest, will seize the first opportunity of rejoining us, provided the

government will guarantee them safety on this side from the boors. " J. T. VANDER KEMP."

" The commando under Vander Walt is postponed until the 1st of June.—J. ABERCROMBIE, May 17, 1802."

From Mr. Ross, the acting Secretary, to Dr. Vander Kemp.

" Castle of Good Hope,
" May 28, 1802.

" SIR,

" I have laid your important letters, dated the 28th April, and the 10th instant, before the acting governor. His Honour being most anxious to restore harmony, so long interrupted, between the different classes of people in the interior, much approves of the proper steps taken by you, as described in these reports. It was with great reluctance that the commando was ordered out, his Honour being sensible of the cruelties committed by boors in former commandos; and he has taken the precaution of placing this under the immediate orders of cautious, humane English officers; so that at least the women and children will not be massacred, as heretofore. His Honour requests it may be well understood, that as this considerable armed force has been sent out as a matter of necessity, to disperse an outlawed banditti under Klaas Stuurman, its operations will only be limited by their absolute submission. Happily your exertions may bring about peace, and save the shedding of blood. And I am ordered more particularly to assure you, that his Honour will gladly adopt any way likely to lead to that desirable object.

But as the future safety of the boors depends upon this important measure, it is necessary to learn if the Hottentots really intend to cease from their acts of violence, or if their

fear of the approaching commando has led them to make a show of desiring peace. In short, as great expense has been incurred upon this occasion, his Honour is resolved, that unless Stuurman and his adherents comply with the following terms forthwith, the Hottentots' kraals on the Sunday River shall be attacked: —

> " A full restitution of all the stolen cattle which may yet be alive, which must be delivered to Major Lemoyne, at Fort Frederick.
>
> " All the arms and ammunition must be delivered up at Fort Frederick.
>
> " As the future means of subsistence, and as a security that the Hottentots will not again collect at Sunday River, his Honour will engage as many young and able men as are willing in his Majesty's service; and such as prefer country labour must hire themselves to the boors, or remain at your missionary establishment.

" These conditions are the general foundation of the proposed arrangement; and, together with the representing to them the necessity of submission, you are at liberty to pledge the assurance of government to Klaas Stuurman, that the past will be forgiven; that they will be protected, and fed by government for one year; and that a suitable spot of land will be appointed for their residence, where implements of agriculture, corn for seed, and other necessary aid, will be provided, to enable them to become a respectable and useful part of the community.

" I am ordered to request you will especially endeavour to convince them that their safety depends upon their subjection to, and confidence in, the English government,

which has invariably shown them all the indulgence, consistent with its duty to the other inhabitants of the colony. Of the philanthropic intentions of government they have now a strong proof, when a powerful commando, on the point of taking vengeance for their repeated offences, is withheld, in order that an offer of amnesty may be made to them for the past, and of peace, with the means of support and security, for the future. His Honour doubts not these terms will be accepted; but as, in case they are refused, the consequences will be terrible to these unfortunate people, the result of your communication will be expected with anxiety.

" If they agree to these offers, measures will be taken forthwith for an ultimate settlement of the affairs of Graaff Reinet by a commission of his Majesty's chief servants in this colony.

" I have to add, that the amnesty for past crimes is not intended to include the murderers of Naude and Van Royen. " H. Ross, Deputy Secretary."

The Fiscal to Dr. Vander Kemp.

" Cape of Good Hope,
" June 7, 1802.

" Although the chief aim of the government is to protect the poor natives of this colony, and especially those belonging to the newly-erected schools, and by all means to encourage all who are actively employed in the same object; yet, it is the governor's intention to do what shall induce the fugitive boors to return to their farms in safety, and what shall protect them from being plundered there.

" Therefore the Hottentots must quit those farms of the boors which they have occupied, and cease to rob them.

They must also obey the orders of government, as their nation has done heretofore, within the limits of the colony: so, on the other hand, the boors must be compelled to treat the Hottentots according to the directions of law.

" That these two classes must not be separated; on the contrary, they must perform their respective duties cordially to each other.

" In the mean time all Hottentots applying to you may come safely; so others may go safely to Fort Frederick—but all plunderers will be outlawed.

" The governor approves of your letter of the 24th May, and of your principle of admitting the Hottentots indiscriminately, in order to withdraw them from wandering habits. But wherever those in the service of the boors are well treated, it is desirable to encourage them to remain there. Opportunities enough will occur hereafter of their receiving instruction.

" The first class to be provided for are the fugitive Hottentots. The more of them whom we can settle, the more candidates will there be hereafter for superior instruction.

" Those therefore who are satisfied with their masters may be left alone, and more might even be encouraged to go into service, with advantage to the public, and to the promotion of religion—for idleness is the mother of all vices. " Van Ryneveld."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Mr. Ross.

" Bota's Place, June 17, 1802.

" Sir,

" Immediately on the receipt of your letter of the 28th of May, I sent two well-instructed Hottentots to Klaas Stuurman, and the next day a third, in order to communicate to him, and as much as possible to the Hottentots, at present

under Trompeter, Boesak, and Bovelander, the terms upon which his Excellency is willing to accept and protect them as faithful and peaceable subjects. Klaas Stuurman, notwithstanding the opposition of the other Hottentot captains, has, in consequence of his promise to me, made his way to the Caffres, in order to obtain from them so much of the boors' cattle as may be still in their hands; and I have exhorted him to make all possible speed to repair to Bota's Place with as many of his people as he can collect, so that his Excellency may not be longer in suspense with respect to the sincerity of his intentions. To effect this I have sent him the necessary pass, and Major Lemoyne has informed the commando of Tjaard Vander Walt, of it, requesting it may be respected by them, as given in the name of his Excellency.

" I did not neglect to inculcate upon the Hottentots, that it is not only their duty but their interest to submit to the regulations which government is actually taking to secure their liberty; and to put every confidence in the British government, as much as is consistent with the law of Christ, who claims a superior confidence in them; and who pronounces every man to be cursed who shall venture to trust in an arm of flesh, which is one of the leading points of the doctrine we are instructed to preach in the Lord's name.

" As, in the second place, his Excellency condescends to ask my opinion about the probability of prevailing upon the Hottentots to desist from plundering, to quit the Caffres, and entirely to submit to government, I will communicate my ideas to his Excellency with all possible freedom. We have never expected an universal instantaneous return of all the different Hottentot hordes. It seems to us, on the contrary, that some of them will prefer to live away from civilised society. Nor must all these be called rogues and

plunderers. Some are men of respectability, and of the strictest integrity. I have in view the remains of the Gona Hottentots, who are at present incorporated with the Caffres, and a part of whom have joined Klaas Stuurman. But I doubt not that the effect of success in our undertaking will, with the blessing of God, shew itself more and more in the gradual return of such as may now be justly termed plunderers.

"The most important step, besides the advantages of a missionary settlement, to prevent the Hottentots continually running away from the boors to the plunderers, will be his Excellency's determination to put an effectual stop to the misconduct of the boors towards those who have engaged peaceably in their service, and not to suffer a single Hottentot to serve a boor against his own free inclination, and lastly to rescue from oppression the hundreds now unlawfully compelled to serve with their wives and children.

"The execution of his Excellency's idea of receiving into his Majesty's service such Hottentots as consent, seems to require much circumspection, and will take time. Every representation made to recommend that to them, will, I am afraid, at present, impress the suspicious with unfavourable notions against the government. The deferring such a proposition till a considerable part of them is in a more settled state, will give opportunities for observing their inclination for the military service. The numbers who have joined us from Klaas Stuurman, Boesak, and the Caffres, amounts to six men, three women, and two children: we expect this number to increase rapidly, as soon as experience shall have convinced them that their comrades are effectually protected against any attempt to compel them into the employment of the boors, or his Majesty's military service, against their will. "J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Mr. Ross.

" Bota's Place, June 28, 1802.

" Sir,

" Last night, in consequence of the message sent to Klaas Stuurman, he arrived at this place, accompanied by another Hottentot, in order to give an actual proof of his submission to government, and to have my advice what to do further; and to request in the strongest terms, that a stop might be put to the violent and irregular proceedings of the commando of Vander Walt against the Hottentots. Major Lemoyne, being informed of the arrival of Klaas, came immediately to have a personal interview with him, and I doubt not but that gentleman will give a full account to his Excellency of what passed in his presence.

" To remove the uneasiness of the Caffre captains, with respect to the pacific intentions towards them, I have assured them in the strongest terms, that his Excellency has given the strictest orders to the commando to treat them as friends.

" As to the request of Klaas, that the operation of the commando might be suspended till all milder steps to reduce the refractory Hottentots should prove unsuccessful, and, that at least he and the peaceable Hottentots might be guarded sufficiently against the danger of being destroyed, without distinction, by the commando,—neither Major Lemoyne nor myself were able to give him a satisfactory answer. It is true, your letter represents the actual restraining of the commando from the immediate exertion of its wrath and power, as a fact, which actually takes place; and I am entirely ignorant of the orders and instructions which it might have pleased his Honour to give to the heads of the commando: but it is certain, that it is

far from being inactive, having begun its career, according to a report received by Major Lemoyne, by shooting two Hottentots who were peaceably repairing to this place.

" Leaving entirely to the wisdom and humanity of his Honour, the decision of how this commando ought to act, I sent Stuurman back with advice to dispose the Caffre captains to show their good-will towards government, by assisting him to retake from Boesak the cattle collected from the boors. As the cattle taken in the time of Mr. Maynier seems to have been divided amongst the Caffres, but part of that taken during the late disturbances still remains with the Hottentots, Klaas hopes much may be recovered with the Caffres' assistance. He also thinks the Caffres will be inclined to oppose the irregularities of the wandering Hottentots, even by imprisoning them, if necessary. T'Konga informed us he had seized a slave, who had escaped from a boor with one of his master's horses; which affair is put into Major Lemoyne's hands.

" Klaas showed the utmost readiness to restore the double-barrelled gun to Tjaard Vander Walt. He said it would have been impossible that Tjaard, with all his commando, after destroying him and his people, could ever regain that gun; but that it is with pleasure, and to show his sincere respect to his Excellency that he offers it to his Honour, and for that purpose will give it to Major Lemoyne.

" As to the final return of Klaas Stuurman and his followers to this place, I advised him and them to take care of their own lives, until his Honour should have taken the necessary means to render the road perfectly safe for them and their families.

" As numbers of the most disorderly people belonging to this settlement presume, against our positive prohibition, to spend several days together at the bay, which proves the

source of the most shocking irregularities, we would humbly request his Excellency to authorise the commander of Fort Frederick to inflict some suitable punishment, as imprisonment or pillory, on those who shall be found there without a written permission. "J. T. Vander Kemp."

To Mr. Ross.

"Bota's Place, July 1, 1802.

"Sir,

"I have sought every opportunity of assuring Klaas Stuurman, and the Hottentots in general, who wish to return with him to order and submission, of his Excellency's protection; at the same time, pledging his Excellency's faith that they should not be molested. The same assurance I have also given to the Caffre captains. It is with inexpressible grief, therefore, that I must mention, that by the barbarous conduct of the present commando, all these assertions have proved in vain, and will leave attainted his Excellency's honour, unless a speedy remedy be found to manifest in whom the fault really lies.

"I had engaged his Excellency's word that neither Klaas Stuurman, nor those who should repair to this place should be hurt. Nevertheless, Van Royen has killed a Hottentot, after taking him prisoner, who, with his wife and child, was coming to us. He afterwards cut the woman's throat, and murdered the infant and another Hottentot who seemed reluctant to shoot the former; and Tjaard Vander Walt himself declares he is determined to destroy Stuurman, and every Caffre captain who shall refuse to give him up.

"As such violent and treacherous steps must of necessity be of very detrimental consequences, and impress the minds of the Hottentots with very unfavourable ideas of the good

faith of government itself, and end in a most inveterate national hatred of the Hottentots towards their oppressors, and lastly block up the way of reconciliation, which it was his Excellency's intention to open, it is my humble opinion, that my feeble attempts to do service to government cannot be better directed than by being recalled to my simple duties as a missionary, in which character I hope never to cease to admonish Hottentots and other subjects of their obligation to respect and obey the authorities.

" As I clearly perceived, that the General views matters in such a manner as to convince me his Excellency was not well informed upon the real state of several important particulars, I wished him to have an exact idea of the true state of things; but it would be unbecoming in me to presume to suggest my free observations without his express commands.

" Very few Hottentots now find it possible to make their way to us. Since my last dispatches, only two have come from Stuurman's, and two from the Caffres. Four respectable Hottentots, probably emissaries of T'Konga, spent a few days with us, whom I have sent away, after consulting with Major Lemoyne; and strict orders were given to the commando to abstain from all violence against the Caffre captains. " J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Fiscal.

" Bota's Place, July 1, 1802.

" I had intended to write more fully an answer to your interesting letter of the 7th of June, but a painful sickness compels me again to write but a short and hasty reply.

" My whole heart accords with the governor's sentiments expressed in your letter, ' that justice must be done to both boors and Hottentots, without respect of persons; and that

both parties must equally be required to discharge their duty to government and to each other;' but I am utterly unable to reconcile these principles with the occurrences I have myself witnessed in the last two months.

" You write further, that ' every Hottentot shall be safe who will come in to the government.' I have given them precisely the same assurance, over and over again; and was delighted in doing so lately, when, at the General's express command, I pledged the public faith to Klaas Stuurman and his people, in support of this promise. Mr. Ross, too, writes, that ' to promote this the operations of the commando were suspended.' Klaas Stuurman accepted the proposal eagerly, and induced several of his people to come to this place; but it was speedily discovered, that so far from the commando being inactive, exertions were making to return these good dispositions by putting the parties to death; and I have in vain requested Major Lemoyne to stop these proceedings. Stuurman himself was with me, and delighted with the prospect of obtaining a spot of land at Van Stade's River. He is gone to the Caffre chiefs, to endeavour, with their assistance, to recover the cattle stolen from the boors by Boesak and the rest. Had he waited here a few days longer, he would have been seized at night by a party of these boors, and killed. This outrageous and indiscriminate violence of the commando should not be kept from your knowledge. It will make every heart bleed that is not grown absolutely dead to all feeling, and to the fear of God.

" But for all this, Klaas and most of his people would have come in. The last act of barbarity which I have heard of, was the murder of a man and his wife with their little child. They were met by a party of boors, under commandant Van Royen, who first seized them, and then murdered the whole family in cold blood. They afterwards shot a Hotten-

tot who refused to assist in the massacre. If good order were established in the country, and discipline in the commando, such things could not happen. I hope the General will hear of them, and retrieve his honour, which is now trampled to the ground. But I fear that some ill-diposed persons seek to thwart his Excellency's good purposes, by imputing insincerity to Stuurman. The general cry is, 'He is a vagabond, an impostor—he must be put down.' At the first, when Boesak and the rest took away all his cattle, arms, and people, I also suspected him of collusion with that party; but several reasons now convince me of his good faith.—First, numerous individuals saw the violence committed by Boesak against him; secondly, Boesak and his men entertain the deepest animosity against me, as having seduced Klaas in order to ruin the other Hottentots; thirdly, T'Konga and the other Caffre chiefs connected with him, have stated to me, that Boesak's party are adverse to the engagements made with the government by Klaas; but that the Caffres approve of these engagements, and will support Stuurman in his adherence to them.

"And now I must bring this narrative to a close, in my too common strain. Consider, my dear fiscal, that you hold the scales of justice for God, and not for man; and I pray that He may give you resolution and firmness, and that above all endue his Excellency, the Governor, with the needful wisdom to persevere in this pressing exigency, to protect and avenge the oppressed.

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

The Secretary of Government to Dr. Vander Kemp.

"Castle of Good Hope, July 23, 1802.

"Sir,

"I am, &c. (letter of 1st July received) and in reply I am

to state, that you seem to have misunderstood the Lieutenant-governor's letter of the 28th May, containing the terms of pardon for such Hottentots on Sunday River as might repair to the missionary establishment. It was not intended to offer a free and unconditional pardon to the hordes of plundering Hottentots and Caffres, who have so long infested the country and interrupted the general tranquillity. You were only to be authorised to pledge the faith of government, that such Hottentots as would return the stolen cattle, and give up their arms and ammunition, and either enlist in the Hottentot regiment, or contract servants to the farmers, or establish themselves at the missionary society, should be pardoned for all offences except the murderers of Naude and Van Royen.

" These having been the only terms on which you were authorised to treat, and which were humanely offered to prevent the calamities to which Vander Walt's necessary commando would expose the Hottentots, his Honour does not see how Vander Walt can be found fault with. He does not appear to have acted in any improper manner; and his attacks upon the Hottentots and *Caffres* at Sunday River are the consequences of the terms offered to these people being rejected. Neither Stuurman nor any of his followers having taken any one step to prove the sincerity of those wishes for peace which he professed to you, by complying in any one instance with the terms on which they might have obtained it.

" Although nothing short of the absolute dispersion of the hordes of plundering Hottentots and Caffres on the Sunday River, must limit the operations of the commando, yet the British government is as anxious as ever to encourage and protect the society of peaceable Hottentots under your care at Bota's Farm; but no communication must now be had with Sunday River, nor more people received by you.

"There is news of the restoration of the colony to the Dutch, but you will be protected by the Lieutenant-governor, and he will strongly recommend your society to his successors, since the benevolent and praiseworthy exertions of yourself and your brother missionaries, in instructing and civilising the Hottentots, cannot fail not only to be attended with the most beneficial effects to this colony, but to promote, in a great degree, the general cause of humanity and religion. "A. BARNARD, Secretary.

"The Rev. Mr. Vander Kemp."

From Dr. Vander Kemp to the Fiscal.

"Bota's Place, July 19, 1802.

"Most respected and very worthy Friend,

"I proceed to state what the want of time compelled me to omit in my last letter, in regard to my views:—

"I. Upon the causes, why the boors are unwilling to stay on their farms:—II. Upon the means, with the blessing of God, of composing the country's present grievous troubles.

"I. 1. Do you really mean, 'that the ill conduct of the Caffres and Hottentots constitute the true reason why the farms are deserted?'—Doubtless this is the common opinion. This the boors are unanimous in asserting. But no man who has known them even for a year, and who is acquainted with their way of thinking, is unaware that, with a few exceptions, it is pretence. Often, a family able to defy fifty Caffres, will go off upon finding the foot-prints of three or four about the house. These few are forthwith concluded to be emissaries from a large body of hidden assailants. Two or three Hottentots running from the premises,—a rumour of cattle stealing, or of other violences,—or of a few vagabonds, having been seen here and there,—

will be enough to cause equal alarm: and the common cry is, 'if we escape not to-day, we shall be murdered to-morrow.' One family follow another, solely because theirs is now the remotest uncovered farm.

"With all this, the alarm is really altogether groundless, or the consternation amongst these miserable people, is out of all proportion to the actual danger. I have myself seen an entire district in the most absolute tranquillity, and perfectly safe from attack, resolve to quit their homes, and warn their nearest friends to watch for the first report of outrages in any quarter, that they also may escape. I remember the whole of Bruintjis Hoogte once fled in a body. Upon inquiring the cause, I was told of the Caffres' intolerable depredations. More minute investigation proved the whole complaint to be a fiction, and not a single Caffre had been seen. Then, however, a new ground was pretended, in the expectation that the British government intended to transport these people to a foreign country.

"I. 2. 'But,' say you, 'if the attacks of enemies did not drive these people away, what did?'

"I answer, that the reasons will readily suggest themselves upon a close review of these positions.

"God's word declares, that 'the wicked fleeth when no man pursueth.' The judgment of the Almighty is plainly marked upon these wretched wanderers, who find no rest, because He allows them none. Their unpunished outrages, and their murders of the Hottentots, equal the crime of their prototype, Cain, and a like judgment to his is also pronounced upon them: 'And now ye are cursed from the earth: when ye till the ground, it shall not henceforth yield her strength: fugitives and vagabonds shall ye be upon the earth.'

"I. 3. Although these people will not acknowledge why

they prefer this wandering life to quiet upon their farms, the real motives are easily seen. Conscience stings them for the many crimes they have committed at home, and every domestic scene unceasingly reminds them of some evil deed done there, and the fear of vengeance allows them no rest. They know, or they imagine, that the surviving relatives of their victims, nay whole tribes of their adversaries, are aware of their offences, and on the watch to avenge them. Night brings with it the dread of attack instead of its wonted repose, and they consider their own domestics to be leagued against them. Therefore it is that they seek refuge in the open plains, banded with friends who are chased from their homes by similar fears. They seek a little relief together in a continual change of scene—all finding the same terrors in the idea of returning to their several homes.

"II. Having stated the real causes why the boors flee and lead this wandering life, we shall the more easily form a sound judgment upon all the past affairs; and determine the proper means of restoring peace and security.

" (*a*) I have endeavoured, in the first place, to find out the real sentiments of the boors; and secondly, what they propose to do. As to the first point, they know well where the difficulty lies; and the fear of revenge for their crimes (I. 3.) brings them naturally into this train of thought—'If all whose vengeance we have to apprehend, could but be destroyed, then we could live in safety.' They dwell so much on this reflection, that it really becomes their fixed plan, unscrupulously to escape from danger by this means. Secondly, although the motive be concealed, still it is openly professed as the belief of the whole class, that 'the utter extermination of these villains,' (meaning all heathens

not in their service) 'is the sole means of peace to the good burghers upon their farms.'

" (*b*) Let me now say one word, candidly, of the means hitherto employed, in order to attain that object, and of the consequences :—

" 1. The means are commandos. The restless boor looks upon a commando as indispensable to his purpose. His application for one is supported by plausible reasons. The misery of the good inhabitants exposed, unprotected to the outrages of a banditti, is set forth in the most moving terms. Should the local functionaries not support the request, or the governor reject it, then the malignity of these wretches throws off all disguise; and their rage is wreaked upon the government. Then is the government an advocate and defender of villains; and desirous that hundreds of the poor burghers should be destroyed; and to effect it sends the banditti to their defenceless farms. Then no character is too bad for the local functionaries—they deserve instant death, for having instigated violences, which the natives themselves would not have thought of. They, it is, who have supplied arms to the natives, and, like traitors, have ruined the land. To all this it is added, that the whole country will become an uncultivated desert, the farms still maintained must be left, and government find resources by itself turning agriculturist. Should, however, the governor, with all his horror for commandos, yield to this application, and be persuaded to order one, under the most rigorous cautions against excess, then is the joy of the boors let loose. Conscience is silenced—fears vanish—complaint is no longer heard. Some of them even expatiate upon the tortures they will inflict upon their prisoners, whilst others make a merit of sparing a few children, whose services their wives or daugh-

ters have demanded for themselves. The thirst for blood is slaked, not at kraals known to have done them mischief, but at such as will be the most defenceless; in their eyes all these heathenish dogs are equally guilty. A chief object is to seize the cattle, which the Hottentots allow in order to save themselves. When twenty-five or thirty of the unfortunate natives are butchered, and the rest have sought refuge in fastnesses, or with the Caffres, the commando is discharged.

" 2. You ask, ' how the state of the country is improved by these heroic deeds.' The natives, it is usually said, are now impressed with a salutary terror, and the banditti have fled. But experience proves that this terror and the flight last only till the commando disappears. Is the object gained of irretrievably destroying the banditti?—on the contrary, they are strengthened. For each man killed, their party gains a dozen recruits from those Hottentots who had remained faithful. They are exasperated by what has been done, and join their countrymen with new and deeper hatred against their weakened masters. But it is alleged, as a matter of triumph, that so much cattle were taken. This is little gain enough. The Hottentot can calculate his losses, and will never rest until he has largely indemnified himself both for the spoil and his own peril.

" It may justly too be said, that the consequences of such commando will not be less hurtful to the boor himself. When the delight he has enjoyed in hunting down human beings is past, and he calmly reflects upon his gains, then is disappointment felt. Instead of the freedom from alarms which he had looked for, he finds trouble increased. The recent crimes add new weight to conscience, his enemies are more violent, and his dependants are fewer in number, and less attached to him than before. His prospect of future

misery is far more fearful than ever. As soon as the destruction of the banditti is reported, the government requires him to return to his farm, to which his aversion increases. A few of the less refractory comply with the requisition; but a short time disperses them more hopelessly than at their first flight.

" (*c*) Upon all this the question arises, What steps can the government take, with the best hope of stopping this calamitous state of affairs?

" If it be believed, upon the foregoing positions, 1 and 2, that the miseries which have befallen this land spring from a special judgment of the Almighty, in vengeance for the unpunished blood-spilling of so many of the natives, a previous question must be asked, What must the government do to avert the wrath of Heaven? which may be easily answered:—The government must solemnly acknowledge the justice of God's judgment, and humbly confessing before the Almighty its own guilt in failing to do justice, seek pardon through the blood of Christ. But above all, the sincerity of this confession must be placed beyond doubt, by such a conduct, as, in an exactly parallel case, God demanded from the rulers of his own people:—'Seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow.' If this were but done, the way would be clear to this land's prosperity.

" If you ask me, what I expect with all this, I am ready to acknowledge I expect nothing. I do not think that the oppressors of this people will so easily repent and change their course. I fear, as they thus oppose themselves to all warnings, they may be under the same judgment of having their hearts hardened, and of being rooted out, of which God speaks by the same prophet (Is. vi. 9—12). I expect that the desolation will go further, and that God will make

the natives, irritated as they are by the acts of the commando now out, the instruments of his wrath. (Is. v. 25, 30.) For since most of these murders (during how many years committed, who can tell?) are of such a nature that they escape the eyes of man, or at least lie beyond the reach of any judicial inquiry hitherto made, nothing less can be expected than that God will himself assume the judge's functions, and do his holy justice to all.

" (*d*) I do, however, expect, and my hope is passing strong, that God will influence the government to make minute inquiry into the wrongs done continually to the heathens, and redress and punish them according to justice and equity. This hope is founded upon what I see done already. I see the governor is convinced, that the natives have been exposed to extreme cruelty, and that the present confusions are chiefly owing to that cause. From your own letters, and from others written in the governor's name, I have learned that his Excellency wishes for nothing more earnestly than to protect the natives, and to do justice to all without respect of persons. I have great confidence in your declared sentiments; and, with thankfulness to God, I perceive indications of the same views in two or three of the subordinate authorities. If it only please Him to enable those who rule to perceive the origin and seat of these evils, I do not doubt, that by merely doing justice, they will earn the glory of having saved the colony; and when this land is cleared from the scourge of the wicked Christians, as they called themselves, it will be the safe abode of heathens, whom God will receive and bless. United with a small remnant of true Christians who will be spared, they will form a happy society. Then will the government rule a people who return their best affections for the respect and protection it affords them. Then it will

not be the Hottentot serving the boor like his slave; but, as in all other lands, where the least appearance of justice is kept up, the poor shall serve the more wealthy with good-will.

"Thus, worthy fiscal, are my views candidly submitted to your consideration. They are founded upon the assumption that injustice has, in a great measure, the upper hand here, and that the vengeance of God is heavy upon us, because the blood of the natives has been shed with impunity.

"I should not venture upon the first bold assumption, if I did not know that I was writing to a sincere and upright friend, and if I was not writing as a Christian teacher, who, although not ministering to a regular congregation, would fail in his general duty if silent, when he distinctly perceived an impending judgment.

"Furthermore, I should have used more measured terms, if the facts were not notorious; at least I should then have produced many proofs, instead of one, with which I will close this letter."

[A cruel murder is then detailed, for which no punishment was inflicted by the English. In the following year the murderer was banished into the adjoining district by Governor Janssens.]

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

"27th July.

"P. S.—The mischievous consequences of the commando, which I foretold, begin already to show themselves. Two farms have been attacked by the Hottentots. At one they have murdered three boors, at the other, fourteen people. They have also carried off much booty, clothes, arms,

ammunition, and cattle. This news was sent to me yesterday by Major Abercrombie.

" The occurrences remind me of an objection which had escaped my recollection before, and which appears to be important. You urge, that I reject all commandos as ruinous in their effects; and you ask, if government be not compelled, when the Hottentots attack the quiet boors, to meet force with force; and if in such a case you are not justified in ordering a commando out, provided it act defensively only?

" I say, without hesitation, no—then, less than ever. I speak of the existing confusions; for in other cases a defensive commando may be necessary. What then, you ask, is to be done now?—I reply, let justice be done. Government clearly has neglected the protection of the ill-treated and crushed Hottentots; and by that neglect has occasioned their rash revenge against their oppressors. The government therefore, as becomes its office, ought to vindicate these wrongs; and, placing itself in the judgment seat, do justice to both parties. The banditti of Hottentots, as they are called, should be informed frankly and generously, that the government admits its duty was not done in times past, but is now ready to redress all, to hear the complaints of the injured, to do justice and punish the guilty.

" On the other hand, the malcontents must be brought to perceive their mistake in assuming the prerogative of government, and their wrong conduct in wreaking their revenge upon innocent women and children, in return for the murder of their own wives and little ones by the Christian villains. They must be brought to a subjection to the civil authority.

" Besides all this, a tract of country should be assigned to them, and new aggressions upon their rights must not escape unpunished.

"This would, in my view of the case, be justice, and the the only way to restore peace, and a hope of prosperity to this colony. With this, I doubt not, the Hottentots generally would be content, and then relinquish all desire of vengeance for the past."

"3rd August.

"2d. P. S.—I have received a singular letter from Mr. Barnard, written by the governor's order. According to it we must admit no more Hottentots from Sunday River, (that is to say, Boesak's, &c.) into this institution, unless they restore the cattle and arms stolen from the boors. I know not what idea the governor forms of their circumstances: most of them are ready to join us. They now come privily, one after another, as they can escape. Arms or cattle they have none, the latter being seized by the commando; and three muskets have been brought in. If they possessed cattle, does the General think they could have driven them openly from Sunday River through the midst of the commando? Must we chase these wretched people off, when, emaciated by hunger, they have with difficulty reached us alive, by dint of night-journeys through the bush? And whither must they be driven? It is hard to execute so harsh an order; but I shall submit until it be changed. Hitherto, most of them have been women and children; and certainly without arms or cattle.

"Klaas Stuurman, who is with T'Konga, by the sea-side, and has collected his property and many of his old followers, continues to behave admirably.

"Worthy fiscal! submit to the governor that, what is enjoined me will infallibly make bandits, as the term is, out of the well-disposed Hottentots, who yet, I trust, will obtain a better fate."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Mr. Barnard.—Replies to a letter of the 23rd of July.

"Bota's Place, August 3, 1802,

"By your present explanation, I find that I did indeed greatly misunderstand the real intention of his Honour, the Lieutenant-governor; though I think that I strictly executed his Excellency's commands. I misunderstood the expression,—'his Honour will take as many young and able men as are themselves desirous of engaging into his Majesty's service: such as prefer the labours of the field are to hire themselves to the farmers, or to remain with you for the present at the missionary establishment.' From these words I concluded that it was never his Honour's intention to constrain also those who should not voluntarily choose it, to enlist against their will into his Majesty's service; and I never imagined that it was the General's pleasure to force those that should return to order and submission, to enter into the service of the boors; but that those who should repair to our settlement should have it in their free choice, either to stay with us quietly, or to hire themselves out to the farmers. And even this point seems to me not fully decided by your own explanation, which seems to represent the enlisting for the Hottentot regiment, the hiring themselves to the farmers, or establishing themselves at the missionary society, as alternatives proposed to the Hottentots, to be determined by themselves.

"Till it shall please his Honour to clear up this point decisively, I will make it my duty to obey, with all possible attention, his command, forbidding any further communication with the Sunday River Hottentots, and directing that no additional number may be received at the missionary establishment at present.

" The case of Klaas Stuurman is very different from that of Boesak, &c. This brave and faithful, though persecuted subject, continues with an uninterrupted stedfastness to give unequivocal proof of his good affection to government. He took upon him, with the assistance of T'Konga, to retake from Boesak, &c. the arms and cattle belonging to the boors, but he was prevented by the commando. He is ready to show his sincerity, by obeying any command which shall be given him in the name of government; and I doubt not, but he will in a few days appear at this place at the desire of Mr. Campbell, of the Hottentot corps. My conscience and the love of truth and of suffering innocence compel me to declare, that Klaas is falsely accused of having acted in any way contrary to the duty of a peaceable subject; and I am very sorry to apprehend that his Honour must have been maliciously misinformed on this; but I doubt not that his present and future conduct will, by impartial judges, efface the calumnies thrown upon his character by secret enemies. I understand that he has again collected about fifty of his people who were forcibly taken by Boesak, and that the greatest part of the remainder intend to leave the plundering captains as soon as any opportunity be offered.

" J. T. Vander Kemp."

Further answer.

" Bota's Place, August 19th, 1802.

" Sir,

" My last answer to your letter of the 23d July, I was obliged to write in haste. Afterwards, reflecting upon what I had written, I found it deficient in some respects, and requiring an additional illustration; and, on the other hand, I have neglected to request from you a more explicit expla-

nation of his Honour's commands respecting the admission of Hottentots into our establishment.

" I have, in the first place, asserted that I hope to have strictly executed his Honour's commands. This I wrote chiefly with a view to remove a suspicion, which otherwise might arise in the mind of the governor, as if I had pledged his faith upon laxer terms than prescribed by himself. I have never neglected, in my conversation with Klaas Stuurman, to urge the restoration of cattle and arms, as conditions upon which pardon, protection, and a free piece of ground were offered to him. This I did in my first interview, and afterwards in a second. He undertook to give back that which belonged to himself; but observed that the greatest part was in the possession of five or six other head men; meaning Boesak, Bovelander, &c. He offered, however, to use all his influence to gain them over to the same sentiments with himself. I need not repeat, that as soon as they were informed of the resolution of Klaas, they fell upon him, took away by force all his cattle, arms, and people; nor that Klaas, attempting to retake them with the assistance of T'Konga, was prevented by the commando which took them.

" This, I hope, will be sufficient to shew that I have in no point deviated from his Honour's commands. Nor do I imagine that his Honour will think it strange that I was, and still am of opinion, that Klaas Stuurman has done to the utmost what could be expected from him towards the fulfilment of the two mentioned conditions, and thereby be entitled to the protection, &c. promised to him, as I never can suppose, that a man of such equitable principles as General Dundas always displayed, will insist upon the performance of impossibilities. As to Boesak, Trompeter, Jan Kaffer, and the rest, who have freely associated with them, I readily

admit that by their rejecting his Honour's proposals, and actual opposition to restoring the cattle, as intended by Klaas, they have become guilty of a great disobedience; and justly incurred the General's displeasure; nor did I ever think of apologising further for their conduct, nor have any correspondence with them. Even his Excellency's proposals had not been communicated to them, but solely by the intervention of Stuurman.

"With respect to the propriety or impropriety of conduct by the commando, if his Honour approves of the steps which it has taken, this declaration of his must be sufficient to put them above all censure of private individuals. But it will be equally evident that previous to such declaration, it has been impossible to view several of their proceedings, in any other light than diametrically opposed to his Honour's.

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

The Fiscal to Dr. Vander Kemp.

"Cape of Good Hope,
"August 30, 1802.

"The bearer of this letter is Gen. Dundas himself, with whom I have frequent conversations upon the contents of your interesting communication of the 19th of July. Employing commandos to quell the Hottentots is altogether against my views, as I am sure it is against those of the General; but his Excellency could no longer withstand the calls upon him. It would have been by far the wisest course to have soothed men's minds by moderation, and at the same time by punishing severely every oppression of the Hottentot by the boor, and every robbery of the boor by the Hottentot. By pressing this I long succeeded in stemming the

torrent of violent counsels. But since what occurred to Rensburg at Graaf Reinet,* I lost all influence. Those persons, therefore, who consider that their points are gained, must attribute the dreadful † consequence of their enterprise to their own rashness.

" I can say no more at present than that it is of the utmost importance that you should call upon the General as soon as you receive this letter.

" As in October we expect Mr. De Mist as commissioner-general, and Governor Janssens, invested with full powers to settle the affairs of the colony, according to their discretion, you should prepare a statement upon the main object of your labours—the instruction of the poor Hottentots where you now are; and present it to the commissioner and the governor, with a report of the almost insurmountable obstacles in your way, and with an application for support. If my advice be listened to, you shall have all possible assistance. In the mean time, I trust you will use your influence to restrain the Hottentots from further violence towards the boors. Into whatever hands the government of the colony may fall, no other principle can be maintained than that of doing justice between man and man; especially that of protecting the peaceable from violence, and the well-disposed from oppression. We may, therefore, expect the best from

* This seems to have been the alleged robbery of Rensburg, which Sir George Yonge declared to be a fiction (see p. cxxxii.); unless it be an attack spoken of by the Baron von P. in p. 8, when Rensburg and his followers were beaten by the Hottentots, with great loss of horses.

† The defeat of Vander Walt and this great commando, so much complained of by Dr. Vander Kemp in the foregoing letter. Vander Walt, the commander, was killed. The failure of these violent methods of proceedings seems to have brought Sir Francis Dundas suddenly to the frontier.

the future authorities, if they become well acquainted with the real state of things. "VAN RYNEVELD."

Dr. Vander Kemp to General Dundas.

"SIR,

"As the last commands which I had the honour to receive from your Excellency by the Secretary Barnard, removes all former uncertainty respecting the surrender of this colony to the Dutch republic; and the instant that is to deprive us of your Excellency's presence, and most powerful and signal protection, seems to be near, I think it my duty to delay not a moment to express the effect which the prospect of this great loss has upon our feelings; in which only one thing affords us some consolation, namely, a strong hope that, even long after your departure, we shall not be deprived of the benefits which our infant settlement has, under God, derived from your Excellency's distinguished favour and tender care to prevent its total destruction; and as it is most probable that this will be the last opportunity which will be given me of addressing your Excellency directly, I am resolved to embrace it, to call your Excellency's remembrance to a circumstance which seems to be of the utmost consequence for our future tranquillity and success. When it pleased your Excellency to authorise, and even to exhort me, to form a missionary settlement in this quarter, you promised to allot us such a spot of ground for its erection as I should find most convenient; provided it were between Zwartkops and Van Stade's rivers. Your Excellency charged the Landrost Bresler with the commission to accompany me, with a view to prevent endless disputes that might otherwise arise between me and the farmers, who might think themselves prejudiced by my choosing a settlement too near their own

places. The Bresler finding some difficulty in the execution of this commission, on account of the danger to which his person might be exposed by it, your Excellency was so good as to assign Bota's Place for our residence, and repeatedly declared that the new settlement should remain here for the present. As this benevolent concession would have secured us a resting-place as long as we might enjoy the influence of your Excellency's authority, it leaves us under the natural apprehension, that it will not continue to have that effect after you have given over the reins of government to a successor. Thus our precarious situation compels me to implore in time your Excellency's intercession, as the last favour we may expect from your care for the settlement, in which the work of God's consenting grace begins evidently to appear, and which your own hand has founded; most humbly requesting that it may please your Excellency, either by proper authority and independently, or in concert with the following governor, to assign us a spot of ground as our own, according to the information which the Bresler or the Faure may furnish, to which we may retreat in case we be compelled to give up Bota's Place.

" And now, Sir, I earnestly pray God that his grace and might may accompany, direct, and strengthen you in performing with dignity the subsequent stations in which his providence may place you; and that by his distinguishing grace your career here on earth may finally be rewarded with eternal felicity, and crowned with celestial glory.

" J. T. Vander Kemp."

Sir Francis Dundas, returned to Cape Town, without restoring tranquillity; but the result of his visit, and of the negociations which his Excellency authorised, was a general

peace * with the Hottentots and Gonaquabi Caffres, under T'Konga; leaving the natives in actual possession, either by conquest or by the better titles already stated, of extensive tracts, west of the Great Fish River. Unless we are prepared to maintain, that the most clearly settled doctrines of international law do not bind us in our dealings with these people, it must be admitted, that the colonial boundary taken up at that river, by whatever means, in and after 1798, was now reduced to a new one, running from Algoa Bay towards the head of the Bosjesman's River. We have seen in what light Sir George Yonge looked at the stability of the Caffres' and Hottentots' possession of the soil, in reference to the very interesting question of extending this colony into the interior of South Africa; and few persons, it is apprehended, will hesitate to prefer his Excellency's views to their violent expulsion afterwards proposed by the Dutch; and actually carried into effect with great sacrifices by ourselves, when they had enjoyed the soil so much longer, as until 1812.

In regard to those Hottentots who should return into the colony, the just conditions held out to them in the foregoing letters were understood to be still in force in their favour. In some points they were adhered to by an inconsiderable tract of land being appointed for them generally by the Dutch, at Bethelsdorp; and by Klaas Stuurmán, who has been so often mentioned, obtaining a grant also from Governor Janssens. In the other respects, the old system

* Barrow states the peace to have been announced to the new government, on the day of surrendering the colony; and he treats the country beyond Algoa Bay as Caffreland. Dr. Vander Kemp speaks of the transactions as a truce only. The official reports of the local functionaries and their minutes, ought to be published.

of non-intercourse with the tribes, was left untouched by us; and the measures for doing justice and improving the natives, so much spoken of by the highest authorities of late years, were still to be devised.

Governor Janssens yielded to the colonists against his better judgment. He was equally aware of the injustice of harsh measures, and of the probable effect of such as would excite activity of disposition in the Hottentots, by giving them security, and a fair reward for exertion. An experienced and humane member of the government had recommended a continuation of the slave-trade, on the grounds of free white labour being inapplicable to the state of society at the Cape, and of the Hottentots being likely to be, by their habits, unfitted for *hard* labour for "centuries." To which the governor remarked, that "if the colony should enjoy peace, and government was able to take the necessary measures to make good and just laws (which the blindness of some consider as harsh) respected, then the Hottentots, by being relieved from ill-treatment, would be more useful to the colony, to the whites, and to themselves. The enjoyment of indirect civil liberty and property would make them more inclined or less averse to manual occupations; they would rise in their circumstances, and form a poor class of freemen, who in their turn would, as they multiplied, supply a labouring population."

The following letters will throw light upon the history of the period, and be acceptable as illustrative of the character of the writers.

Governor Janssens.

"May 3, 1805.

(In answer to Dr. Vander Kemp's letters of the 12th February, 4th and 30th March,)

" In regard to removing Bethelsdorp, or establishing other missionary institutions, as mentioned in your letter of the 12th of February, further communication will be made to you. In the meantime, be assured, that a loan place need not be purchased, if disposable public lands could be found in any spot considered by government proper for an institution. The government will be ever well disposed towards the natives if they behave well, as I doubt not they will do, unless improperly advised.

" In regard to the missionaries destined for Bethelsdorp, whom your letter also mentions, its contents were already complied with.

" I thus repeat my views in regard to the Hottentots, and I desire that my conduct may be always tried by the test these sentiments afford. Civilised people—Europeans, with whom I reckon the colonists—never mix with the uncivilised but to their destruction. Whilst the English held the Cape by right of conquest, they professed to protect the natives, and to be their friends, but without doing a single thing that was of lasting benefit to them. Under the English, they became wilder in their way of life, and certainly not happier; for, as was just, the want of good conduct was followed by misery. The English did not act like the sovereigns of the whole country, who were desirous of steadily, but mildly checking the barbarities suffered by one class of its inhabitants, the Hottentots, from the Europeans, another class; and at the same time of compelling each to discharge its duty to the other. No; they rather looked upon large bodies of these inhabitants as at open war with each other, and took part with the Hottentots like allies. This exasperated the Europeans, instead of either enlightening their understandings, or correcting their faults. On the other hand, the Hottentots have lost many of their good qualities through this policy,

by the debauchery which many have learned from their new connexion. They perceived too the enmity between the boors and their English friends, and hoped to obtain by their help a general revenge for the injuries which individuals had suffered. This was not a way likely to bring affairs to a tranquil settlement, as, indeed, experience has shewn it to lead directly to greater misfortune.

"The English cried out, and many adopted their cry, that the Hottentots were exposed to unparalleled barbarities from us; and that Dutchmen and Dutch-African boors were greater monsters than the world ever saw before. Unquestionably the Hottentots have often been treated most cruelly by the Dutch, who have not failed to commit the same acts, although to a less extent, with other Christians in near countries. Spaniards and Englishmen, and all the rest, may well reproach us for this. Wherever they have set their foot the natives are rooted out. Their desolating wars have not left a remnant to bear witness to the horrid deeds they have done. Where are the aborigines of America? Where are the Caribbs and so many other tribes, once so numerous? It is solely because the Hollanders have been less cruel, less blood-thirsty than others, that they now are represented in this deepest dye. Numbers, doubtless, deserve reproach, when their acts are measured by the rules of humanity, of a reasonable religion, and of good morals; but not when merely compared with what the English and other nations have done. The number of Hottentots still amongst us proves this. If, at the arrival of the English, or shortly before, the boors had made the Hottentots their friends, and, as would naturally have taken place, they had joined against the invaders, more than twenty thousand natives could have been raised. If heretofore wrong has been done to the natives in this colony as well as in every other, and if it so con-

tinue to this hour, the government must earnestly devise means to preserve and civilise them. Could I contribute to these objects, I should anticipate the respect of all who love virtue, and whose good opinion alone deserves to be sought. Unhappily the war now waged against the ill-fated state, which is no less your country than mine, hinders me from giving to this subject the attention that it requires. But for this, my tour would have been followed by immediate measures upon it. They must now be deferred to a time of peace; and I know enough of the sentiments of those who rule at home to declare safely, that their delegate here will not cease to labour until these important affairs be settled.

"I have greatly to complain that you do not cooperate heartily with me: your prejudices are unfounded, as you would grant, if you could see how much better the Hottentots in our service are treated than those who were in the English ranks. I have the most perfect reliance upon their fidelity and love of our service, if they be not led away; and I know that many of the boors excite them against becoming soldiers, merely to keep them for themselves. Your own bitter language in their hearing, and the great error into which you have fallen, of claiming rights for them beyond those of the colonists, have equally tended to pervert them.

"The state of affairs with the Caffres gives me the greatest concern; and I am disappointed to find, that you do not support the chief magistrate at Uitenhage, or act cordially with him. If the hatred of one party could ever justify that of another, the hatred which the boors bear to Bethelsdorp, would find its excuse in your unreasonable hostility to them. Had you employed your great knowledge, and the moral influence of your high character, to conciliate some of those men, the cause of religion and of the Hottentots would have prospered equally with that of the colony. Kindly feelings

produce the happiest fruits—violence leads to nothing but evil. The advice you offer me is always acceptable; and I profess the same desire, as yourself to look upon the faults of the Hottentots tenderly; but I am only a subordinate authority to the Batavian government, and possess no absolute power of pardoning. The laws must be obeyed, although with as favourable a leaning to these poor people as possible. If either the government or judges have any prepossessions on the subject, it is for their benefit.

"I have referred the complaint against the Heemraad J. H. Van Rensburg to the Landrost. I cannot believe * that so criminal an intention as that of destroying your institution could be conceived; and am inclined to compare it with the unfounded imputations of the boors, that the Hottentots had conspired to cut them all off.

"I hear from good authority that your people receive through the missionaries friendly remembrances from English officers formerly known to them. This is not right: much as I should despise invidious control of men's thoughts, such messages can have no other effect than to foster the attachment of the natives to the enemies of Holland.

"You misapprehend the conditions upon which land has been granted to your institution. The Hottentots are bound to do public work at Fort Frederick, not indeed as vassals or slaves, or in the nature of corvce service, but as free men for hire. They cannot be released from such duties more than the other inhabitants.

"* * * In regard to the Hottentots learning to write,

* This governor, however, afterwards found cause to banish Rensburg from the frontier, and place him under surveillance elsewhere, as proclaimed in the Cape Gazette. A British governor restored him.

that may be deferred until they are so far advanced that it can be useful to them. But I cannot understand how it will benefit people who have neither knowledge to build a house to live in, nor a desire to wear clothes, nor the least share of civilisation. "J. W. JANSSENS."

Lichtenstein asserts, that Dr. Vander Kemp was summoned to Cape Town by Governor Janssens, *in order to meet criminal charges*, "which," says the traveller, "would have brought him into great peril but for the arrival of the English."—It might be a sufficient reply to this injurious allegation to state, that Dr. V. reached Cape Town in June, 1805, and that six months elapsed before the colony was attacked; but no charge whatever was preferred against him. The following letter, however, from the governor, abundantly vindicates the missionary from any suspicion of criminality.

Whatever political motives might lead to the postponement of a prosecution in other circumstances, or to the removal of influential persons from a particular part of the colony, it is incredible that any serious charge could be intended by such a man as Governor Janssens, at the very time he was holding a correspondence of this kind with the alleged criminal.

Governor Janssens to Dr. Vander Kemp.

"Cape Town, May 16, 1805.

"Your letter of the 19th of April, and mine of the 3d instant, having crossed, I inclose a duplicate of mine. Perhaps a further communication is not required at present, since your summons hither will afford an opportunity of personal discussion. But I deem it desirable to acquaint

you with my views somewhat further, in order to render the conference the more agreeable.

" In regard to your letter of the 19th of April, I must observe that I am not fond of using the austere tone of authority. Hitherto, indeed, a lofty tone has had no attractions for me; and I do not think it ever contributes much to the public service: you have therefore done well to address me familiarly. Frank opinions never offend me; and if I do but hear the truth, it is perfectly immaterial from whom I hear it.

" In regard to the laws of the colony, I admit that they differ from those of former days; but my duty compels me to cause such as exist now to be respected; and the cruel accusations you urge against so many persons appear to me inconsistent with the office of a Christian teacher. You charge the Landrost Alberti in the severest terms, which your fertile imagination could devise against a notorious ruffian. In almost all the world, soldiers are engaged for a limited period of service, and this as well in time of war as of peace: nevertheless the general law binds them all. I regret to have lost the affections of the Hottentots, but this shall not lessen my regard for that unfortunate people. I shall endeavour to do them whatever good the times will permit; and holding them innocent of wilful injustice to me, attribute it solely to the instigation of others. However your judgment may have been blinded by your indignation, I hope never to become equally unjust.

" When the governor could protect men of any class against crime and oppression, he has not failed to do so; and claims no merit for the mere performance of duty. By negligence, he would himself have been an equal offender. Were your expressions less bitter, I should think you were jesting, in the ridiculous proposal to place the Hottentots

under officers of their nation: but if their abilities admitted such a measure, I would adopt it, since they are unquestionably free as we are, and joint inhabitants of the land with us.

" In regard to the wives of the Hottentots taken into military service, it is incorrect to say they are left in destitute circumstances, when they may be supported either at Bethelsdorp or Baviaan's Kloof; besides that, with a people who have many wives, and those difficult and some impossible to be found, how can all be provided for? This support of the wives is indeed a peculiar advantage enjoyed by the Hottentots beyond the European soldiers.

" In regard to your comparing missionary societies with bodies for promoting general learning, I must say it seems to me ill-founded; as you appear to be equally unreasonable in claiming justice in all cases, when the circumstances of the times render it impracticable to be done. Painful, indeed, it is to witness evils, which cannot be checked; and surely it is ungenerous to reproach me for an unfortunate weakness, which may prove to be temporary. You may, however, depend upon my firmness against notorious culprits, and the plainly unjust demands of violent measures. I am quite aware of the emptiness of popular plaudits, and can perform my duty, solely trusting to my own breast for approval; whilst if I may safely disclaim the folly of thinking myself perfect, I may venture to declare that I have never wilfully done wrong on this subject.

" I state my views thus frankly, in the desire to convince you, although ready to be convinced myself—but you must perceive the advantage with which you, who have to consider the question on one side only, are arguing with me, who am perplexed with a hundred difficulties, and am bound to protect a hundred interests. " J. W. Janssens."

Ill as justice continued to be administered, we are not entitled to claim a superiority in this respect for the English. The Dutch governor actually banished an individual from the frontier, whom the English governor, Sir George Yonge, declared to have deserved that punishment, but who was spared by us then, and, after the second capture of the colony, pardoned, and restored to the scene of his lawless actions.* Other criminals were also banished from Uitenhage by Governor Janssens, whom Sir Francis Dundas should have visited more severely. It is due also to the Batavian authorities, to consider that their last possession of the colony was short; and the good views which their proclamations unquestionably indicate, were interrupted by the war which again gave us their colony.

During a short time after the second capture of the Cape, there seemed to be a complete revival of good prospects for the natives; the beginning and gradual change of which are exhibited in the following letters. Those, written by Dr. Vander Kemp, will sufficiently prove the confidence he reposed in British principles, and may suggest his regret at the extent of our departure from the policy he had seen us profess at his arrival in 1799.

Dr. Vander Kemp to Lieut.-Gov. Grey.

"Bethelsdorp, February 20, 1807.

"Governor Janssens, perceiving that the institution at Bethelsdorp, in which many of the oppressed Hottentots found an asylum against the barbarities of the boors, was on that account the object of their hatred, and being aware that should he protect the Hottentots with efficacy against

* Rensburg.

their oppressors, and do them justice, he must unavoidably lose the favor and affection of a number of notorious malefactors, and even of the greatest part of the inhabitants, whom he by liberty and indulgence wished to attach to the interests of the Batavian republic, preferred rather to leave the innocent unprotected, than to stem the torrent of oppression by a vigorous opposition. As he condescended to discuss the subject with me, I could not forbear to warn him against the consequences of his cruel enmity, and the displeasure of God, who most certainly would hear the cries of the oppressed. It seems that this liberty excited his Excellency's resentment. The institution of Bethelsdorp which had been under the immediate protection of Governor Dundas, was now first placed under the orders of the commander of Fort Frederick, and afterwards under those of the Landrost of the district. From time to time disagreeable regulations have been issued, by which the Hottentots have been more and more deprived of the benefits they enjoyed in this institution. It is true these were revoked immediately after the accession of Governor Baird to this government; but the oppressions of the Hottentots by the colonists still continue.

"Providence, it seems, Sir, called you to the head of this government to rectify these disorders. The eyes of the Hottentots, who expected a powerful protector in General Baird, are now upon your Excellency; and it is the prayer of your humble servant, that the supreme avenger and protector of the helpless, may dignify your Excellency to be the blessed instrument of his justice and mercy, and to receive for your reward the thanksgiving and blessings of many of the distressed; and, finally a crown of glory in those realms where tyranny and oppression shall cease for ever.

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Colonial Secretary.

" Bethelsdorp, April 30, 1807.

" Sir,

" You express in your last letter his Excellency's wish that I should for some time continue at Bethelsdorp to preserve the members of that institution in their present peaceable and well-disposed habits of life. However willing I may be to gratify his Excellency in this respect, if it were in my power, it is not probable that my stay here will be long, being intended by the missionary society of London for other services. It is, however, not my intention to leave this institution till it shall be established upon a more solid and regular principle than it is at present, and I shall be enabled to give over its direction to a missionary successor better qualified for this service than myself. The last point is committed to my care, but the first cannot be executed without his Excellency's co-operation; with a view to which I will submit the following hints to his Excellency's consideration:—

" I. This institution was erected upon a most simple plan, at the instigation and under the auspices of General Dundas, who condescended to give immediately the orders necessary for its management, in relation to the peace and tranquillity of the country, without the intervention of the Landrost or commander of Fort Frederick.

" II. Under the government of General Janssens it was gradually more and more oppressed, and subjected, first, under the orders of the officer commanding in Algoa Bay, and afterwards under those of the Landrost, which proved a source of many complaints respecting the injuries under which our Hottentots groaned.

" III. At the restoration of the British government, we naturally expected that the restrictions under which the institution was brought, would be removed, the more so as the chief magistrate, Ryneveld, informed me that it was General Baird's wish, that the institution should be reinstated upon the same footing as it had been originally under the government of General Dundas.

" IV. Notwithstanding this, the Landrost continues to exercise an almost arbitrary power over the members of the institution, and has even taken steps to put me under the orders of a field-cornet. By a series of acts of injustice towards our Hottentots, of which I am reluctant to complain in detail, (but which have rendered my station in this place extremely disagreeable and disgusting to me,) he has alienated the affections of our people not only from himself, but also from government in general, insomuch that when the obligation they have to government, as their protector, is represented to them, their common reply is, ' They are not the same English which they were under General Dundas.'

" V. It is in the power of his Excellency to convince them effectually, that this conclusion from the conduct of one individual to the disposition of the whole government is erroneous and false; and I doubt not of his Excellency being inclined to give unequivocal proof to the contrary. In this persuasion I will be so free as to add the following observations:—

" VI. The institution ought to remain under the immediate protection of the governor,—the missionary to receive the necessary orders from his Excellency,—and the plan of his operations, as far as they may affect the political state of the colony, to be concerted between his Excellency and the missionaries.

" VII. It is, however, by no means my opinion, that the

institution should be entirely independent of the landrosts' authority. Being so distant from the seat of government, it is necessary that there be a magistrate to watch over the proceedings of the missionaries and their people, to prevent such steps as he may have reason to believe would be disapproved by the governor; and whose authority is to be respected, as it always has been, both in civil and judicial matters. But his authority, and this is the chief point which I urge, should be limited by an explicit instruction to be given by his Excellency, and communicated by extract to the missionaries for their information.

" VIII. I will not presume to suggest the articles of such an institution, which must be left to the wisdom and discretion of his Excellency. I only beg that they may be calculated to preserve the missionaries with their people, in the free and unrestricted exercise of their respective religious functions; that the members actually residing at Bethelsdorp (for above 800, including wives and children, are in service with the boors,) may not be involved in war or commandos against the natives; that no boor may engage such a member in his service by annual contract, except in presence and with consent of the missionary; that no field-cornet or single heemraad have any authority within the institution; and that the inhabitants of the colony be forbidden to offer brandy or other intoxicating liquors for sale, or to distribute it among the people without consent of the missionary.

" IX. As the ground of Bethelsdorp is entirely unfit for agriculture, Governor Janssens authorised me to look out for a more convenient spot. In the meantime, some people suggested to him two farm places, which in their opinion would answer his Excellency's intention. But as upon examination these places were found pernicious to cattle, we represented against our removal to a place labouring under a

more material defect than Bethelsdorp itself. These places are situated in the district of Koroman River. By reiterated change of government this object has been left undetermined. In this suspense we have now lingered more than five years, under an excruciating scarcity and dearth of the most necessary articles of food, bread and vegetables, and been prevented from erecting the necessary buildings of more durable materials than reeds and straw! For this reason I humbly request that it please his Excellency to grant us a tract of ground more adapted to the wants of the institution, and, if possible, in the neighbourhood of Caffreland, that this nation may also enjoy the benefits of religious instruction, and in this way become more civilised and tractable. But should, unexpectedly, his Excellency think it more expedient that the institution be not removed from the ground which it actually occupies, to signify explicitly this to be his Excellency's resolution.

" While I am writing this, the landrost has ordered six Hottentots to be taken from each field-cornetcy to work at the drosdy; and, considering the institution as a kind of extraordinary one by itself, ordered me likewise to command six of our people to the same work. Having obeyed and executed this order, I have, but in vain, endeavoured to point out in a friendly manner the dissimilarity of the two cases. The Hottentots, who are in service of the boors, being paid, and their families provided for by their masters, lose nothing when they are employed elsewhere. But it is not so with our Hottentots, who, receiving no payment, must subsist with their families from their own industry. Secondly, that there be no necessity nor reason to call away the members of the institution from their work, families, and means of instruction, will appear, if we consider that the number of Hottentots belonging to the institution since 1802, is 1267 in-

cluding wives and children. From these if we deduct 300 now at Bethelsdorp, 50 who may be in the military service, a few who died, or lately emigrated to Caffreland, &c. the remainder, at least 800, will be found in service of the boors. May not this number be esteemed sufficient to afford the necessary workmen, without employing the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp to work at the drosdy without any pay? I leave this with the fullest confidence to the decision of his Excellency, in which I will readily acquiesce.

"There is another case which compels me to have recourse to his Excellency's equity. Two brothers, called Solomon and John Camphor, both members of this institution, went with my permission to visit for a few days their father, living at the place of Christian Kok. There the field-cornet Van Royen found them, and in collusion with Christian Kok, had the temerity to command them to work at the drosdy, as if they had been in Kok's service. Having referred the case to the landrost, and showing from the register of the institution that the report of Van Royen made to him was false, and that they had never been in the service of Kok, and being regularly dismissed from their former employers, P. Van Stade, Widow Vermaak, and Sam Potgieter, entered the institution on the 7th of March, it pleased the landrost, notwithstanding this my declaration, to reject the truth, in order to confirm the proceedings of the field-cornet, and condemned them both to work at the drosdy, above the six men mentioned before. Upon this one fled into Caffreland, whither many more not belonging to the institution, are gone to complain of the treatment which they have met with in this district. The consequences of this emigration the landrost may not perhaps be aware of; but they cannot escape your penetration, as you have been witness to the calamities originating from them during the

government of General Dundas. The other, Solomon, is still here, relying upon his Excellency's protection against such glaring injustice.

" With the same confidence, and every due respect, I have, &c. " J. T. VANDER KEMP."

" To J. C. Smyth."

The Colonial Secretary to Dr. Vander Kemp.

" Secretary's Office, April 29, 1807.

" SIR,

" In consequence of a complaint that has been preferred against you by the acting Landrost at Uitenage, the Lieutenant-Governor has ordered me to request you will, on your side, state the grounds of the misunderstanding that has unfortunately taken place. His Excellency, trusting that you are aware of the propriety, and indeed necessity, in return for the protection and encouragement you enjoy, of your cheerfully submitting, in the first instance, to all orders and requisitions that may be given by the Landrost on the spot, it being always in your power to complain to his Excellency, should you at any time conceive yourself or your institution ill treated.

His Excellency hopes, therefore, that you will be able to exculpate yourself from the charges of having withheld or discouraged any of your Hottentots either from working at the buildings at the drosdy, or from enlisting as soldiers.

" You have received so many proofs of the interest taken by the British Government in the welfare of your institution, and in all the plans laid down for ameliorating the condition of the Hottentots, both of late as under Gen. Dundas, that you must be sensible any misunderstanding between you and the British officer at present acting as magistrate at

Algoa Bay, cannot but cause considerable uneasiness to his Excellency.

" J. C. Smyth,
" Acting Secretary."

Dr. Vander Kemp to the Colonial Secretary.

[Manuscript committed to the landrost's care, and sent by Prince Bootsman.]

" Bethelsdorp, May 20, 1807.

" In obedience to his Excellency's order, contained in your letter of April 29, I will endeavour to point out (as far as it is possible to investigate from external appearances the secret springs of human actions), the source of the unfortunate misunderstanding between the acting Landrost and me; and his complaints against me, as having withheld or discouraged some of our Hottentots from working at the drosdy, or from enlisting as soldiers.

" As to the charge itself, my conduct, as my missionary brethren and the generality of our people may witness, has been quite the reverse from that which I see with surprise is imputed to me by the Landrost. I am conscious of having done what was in my power, and consistent with my missionary character, to impress upon the minds of our people the obligations under which they are to assist government in the defence of the country. My missionary brethren, and in particular Mr. Read, have not been less active in exhorting them to listen to my admonitions; and never a word escaped our mouths tending to dissuade them from that which we urged to be their duty. As in the beginning almost every individual expressed a decided dislike to the service, recollecting what they had experienced under the government of General Janssens, I proposed to them to draw annually, by lot, a number of young men, proportionate, the

whole submitting to serve upon the terms made by his Excellency General Baird, viz. for the term of five years, &c. Though this proposal was rejected, some afterwards enlisted, and we hoped that the number would gradually increase, as it did, till Lieutenant Fraser declared that he had no commission to accept any more into the service upon any other terms than the British soldiers were engaged upon, viz. for an unlimited time. This declaration, by which the proposals of General Baird were contradicted and looked upon by our people as doubtful, seems to have contributed much, with other circumstances, to render the Hottentots more averse from military service.

" That I have discouraged the people from working at the drosdy is an aspersion equally false and malicious. Here I must observe that the Landrost never made an application to me for voluntary workmen; but employed Mr. Read, from time to time, to look out for some willing to work there. Nothing has been omitted by Mr. Read or me to dispose our people to gratify the Landrost in this respect. That the number of those who offered themselves was less than we expected, and that some who were employed could not even by force and compulsion be prevailed upon to continue in this service, was not to be imputed to any neglect on our side, but, according to their report, to the manner in which they had been treated at the drosdy.

" As to the source of the Landrost's accusations, I am nearly at a loss how to account for them. From my first arrival at this place I have endeavoured to merit his confidence, and to cultivate as much as possible the good harmony which I hoped would subsist between him and myself and fellow missionaries. Very soon, however, I discovered in his conduct evident traces of dislike to this institution; the reason of which we could not penetrate. It seems, how-

ever, that the boors have taken the advantage of this displeasure, and fed the latent fire of discord with fresh fuel, though at first it did not break out into an open flame. When Hottentots of the institution found themselves, upon false reports, or from clearly ex-parte reasons of the boors, injured by his decisions, and required my help and advice, I have often begged him to examine likewise the other side of the question, and stated the case to him in its true light. But when he persisted in the decision given, I always acquiesced in his ultimate sentence without further remonstrance. But the last case of this kind being so notoriously contrary to every appearance of justice and common sense, I was under the disagreeable necessity, after repeated and friendly efforts to convince the Landrost of his mistake, to bring it by my former letter of the 30th April to his Excellency's cognizance.

" By alleging this, it is by no means my intention to insinuate that the Landrost has contrived his accusation against me in his own imagination from mere malice, and against the dictates of his conscience. I do not harbour such an unfavourable idea of his character. I am much more inclined to think that some other person may have whispered them in his ears, and that his heart has from prejudice been too much disposed to imbibe the suggested accusations.

" But though the Landrost cannot have any just reason to consider me as having by active steps hindered any Hottentots from entering the service, I sincerely believe that I have not been so diligent in encouraging them to enlist as he could wish. If I had attempted to seduce young men by false representations and deceitful promises, if I had compelled them, by coercive means or intoxication, to take a step which they would have repented of as soon as returned to their senses and free use of reason; if I had driven by

menaces workmen from their families, the Landrost would perhaps have applauded my zeal, commended me for conduct which may seem pardonable in a recruiting serjeant or West India slaver; but would it have been consistent with the paternal care of a missionary for the spiritual welfare of his people? would it have merited his Excellency's approbation? would it have been crowned with the blessing of God? It appears to me that the Landrost has not the least idea of the nature of a missionary institution, nor of the limits by which the sphere of activity of a missionary is circumscribed, nor the manner in which his efforts ought to be subservient to the good of the country.

"Before I leave this subject, I beg leave to add the following observations:—

"I. It appears to me somewhat strange that the Landrost accuses me to his Excellency of misconduct, the least suspicion of which he never intimated to me before.

"II. Though I do not discover in your letter any direct charge of disobedience brought against me, your letter, if I do not entirely mistake its meaning, not obscurely glances at some deficiency in my conduct in this respect. At least his Excellency seems to have found reason to call my attention to my *duty of cheerfully submitting in the first instance to all orders and requisitions that may be given me by the Landrost.* If I had ever deviated from this rule, I should candidly confess my guilt, in hope to obtain his Excellency's and the Landrost's pardon; but I can with the greatest confidence assert that no order from him to me can be produced which I have not executed with the strictest punctuality; and I hope that my future conduct will never draw upon me any reproach on that point.

"III. Our Hottentots, especially those who, in consequence of the Landrost's requisition, are now at work at the

drosdy, observe a remarkable change in his behaviour to them, which seems at present unusually friendly and captivating, from the time in which we now learn he has been framing complaints against me. From whatever motive this sudden change may proceed, we consider it as a blessing, and a conclusive proof that the Landrost himself is sensible that his former conduct to them required emendation.

" IV. Some of our people, especially the more advanced in years, are aware of the impropriety of the younger ones disregarding the wishes of government, and frustrating its expectations; but their number and influence upon the generality are so insignificant, that little hope is left of obtaining many more soldiers from a sense of their duty. I could indeed suggest some other method of raising them, which I conjecture would prove more efficacious. But fearing that in doing so I might intrude myself into considerations foreign to my station, I will beg leave to suppress my ideas on this subject, until it shall please his Excellency to remove my doubts in this respect.

" V. Should any of my observations contained in this letter, and made in answer to the Landrost's complaints, unexpectedly excite his resentment, I will hope to be enabled to bear it with a Christian patience, and use every means in my power to restore the harmony which on his side seems in some measure interrupted. But it cannot be restored or preserved at the expense of the rights which the meanest Hottentot in the institution has to his Excellency's protection when oppressed by a subaltern magistrate. I shall not be tempted to buy it at such a price. I have the honour to be with sincere regard, &c.

" J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Lord Caledon.

" July 31, 1807.

" My Lord,

" The letter by which it has pleased your Excellency to honor me, containing an explanation of your Excellency's sentiments respecting the relation in which I am to consider the institution and myself in respect to the Landrost of the district, is so unambiguous and decisive, that it seems to require no other answer from me than a thankful acknowledgment, and a silent submission to its contents.*

" But as I consider them an unequivocal proof that my two last letters addressed to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor have been presented to your Lordship, I indulged myself in the hope that what I have suggested in them respecting our present situation at Bethelsdorp, from its being entirely unfit for agriculture, may likewise have attracted your Excellency's attention, to which I will now only beg leave to add, that the total want of arable ground at Bethelsdorp in a great measure frustrates the benevolent intention with which the institution was erected, viz. to reduce the dispersed and vagabondizing Hottentots into a permanent society of useful and industrious inhabitants. Experience teaches us that the greatest part of those who enter the institution with the best views, leave it again in a few weeks, convinced of the impossibility of providing for themselves and their families in a place where nothing can be sown or reaped. Numbers of them, it is true, retreat to the farmers,

* It subjected the institution to such orders as Dr. Vander Kemp should receive from the Landrost; but relieved the institution from being burthened with finding a quota of hands, as if it was a separate field-cornetcy. It relieved Dr. Vander Kemp from the requisition of promoting the recruiting, and legalized marriages at the church of Bethelsdorp.

but many also emigrate to the Caffres, or form themselves into little kraals in the neighbouring woods—the consequences of which are too obvious to escape your Excellency's penetration.

" Confident that sufficient means to obviate this evil are in your Excellency's power, I have the honour to subscribe myself, with the greatest submission, &c.

" J. T. Vander Kemp."

Dr. Vander Kemp to Lord Caledon.

" Bethelsdorp, 15th Sept. 1807.

" I found myself honoured by your Excellency's letter of the 10th July, upon the 12th instant, in which your Lordship expresses a desire to be more particularly informed of the origin, the nature, and present circumstances of the missionary institution at Bethelsdorp; and to have my ideas upon the subject of furthering my views in the extension of Christian knowledge.

" I will endeavour to give your Excellency every information in my power on these subjects under the forementioned heads:—

" I arrived, by favor of the British government, the 31st March, 1799, at the Cape, accompanied by three fellow-missionaries, Kicherer, Edmonds and Edwards, sent out from the London Missionary Society, with a view to communicate the glad tidings of salvation through Christ Jesus to the Heathen, not within the colony, but amongst the nations in its vicinity—and in the first place to the Caffres. But from motives suggested by the fiscal, Ryneveld, it was resolved that Mr. Kicherer and Edwards should attempt to form a separate mission among the Bushmen between the Riet and the Sack Rivers; whilst Mr. Edmonds should

accompany me in Caffraria. Both these plans were executed under the approbation of General Dundas, who not only gave us a free passage though the colony, but also assisted us in this journey by his authority and protection. Mr. Edmonds departed with me from the Cape on the 22d of May; but as we had many obstacles to overcome, arising from the hostilities between the Modankian Caffres and the colonists near the Great Fish River, our efforts to penetrate into Caffraria were frustrated till the 8th of September. When entering this country, we had for a short time to struggle with new obstacles; five English deserters having been hired by some of the boors to kill us on the road, but who accidentally missed us; and Gaika being informed by an emigrated colonist that we were sent by the English government to poison him: but the king, having discovered the falsity of this report, assured us of his friendship and confidence. My associate resolved, however, after three months to retire from Caffreland, and sailed to Bengal. After I had continued fifteen months more in that country, expecting that another should be sent from London to repair the loss of my brother Edmonds, I was at length informed that two missionaries, Read and Vander Lingen, with that intention, were arrived at Graaff Reinet, wishing me to meet them there, in order to consult about their further proceedings. I found them there on the 14th May, 1801; and as we had a multitude of Hottentots assembled in that village desiring to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, we resolved to suspend the Caffre mission for a time, and to occupy ourselves in instructing this people. It then pleased General Dundas, upon being informed of these proceedings, to require my ideas respecting a missionary institution for the teaching and civilising of the Hottentot nation; and these being approved by his Excel-

lency, to look out for a convenient spot of ground between the Zwartkops and Loery River, where the intended institution might be established. His Excellency most munificently offered to raise the necessary buildings without any expense to the missionary society; and he procured the necessary implements, chiefly consisting of carpenters' tools, implements of agriculture, and domestic utensils. I had observed that to the success of this undertaking two things were indispensable, viz.—1st, a tract of arable ground and pasture adapted to the number of inhabitants:—2ndly, his Excellency's assistance in providing these with victuals for one year after its erection. The second article the governor took cheerfully upon him, and a most ample stock of provisions was sent by sea to Algoa Bay, for the use of our Hottentots. The execution of the first General Dundas, in consequence of the peace of Amiens, was constrained to leave to the care of his Batavian successor. In the mean time, the institution was established at the abandoned farm of Tennis Bota, near Algoa Bay, which place Lieutenant-Colonel Lemoyne, commanding at Fort Frederick, offered us in the name of Governor Dundas as a temporary residence. I should depreciate the merits of that officer if I should in this place neglect to mention, with the sincerest gratitude, the unceasing civilities and effectual assistance shown us during our residence in his neighbourhood.

At this place my brother Read and I arrived with the Hottentots admitted at the institution, from Graaff Reinet, on the 7th of March, 1802. The rest, who preferred to remain at that village, were left there under the direction of the missionary, Vander Lingen, on a piece of ground granted to the Missionary Society by Mr. Maynier, commissioner of government.

"After the evacuation of Fort Frederick by the English,

we were compelled by reiterated attacks of some vagabondizing Caffres and Hottentots to leave Bota's Place, and to transfer the institution into the Fort. Here it remained till the arrival of General Janssens, who, upon a favourable report made by some of the inhabitants, assigned for its residence the place where it actually is established, called Bethelsdorp. But experience having shewn the occult object of this report, on account of the dryness of the soil, General Janssens resolved to remove the institution to a more promising district. The execution of this benevolent plan has, by incidents of various kinds, and successions in government, been hitherto frustrated, and the institution still remains where it was.

" II. *Nature.* The leading object of the institution is to excite and promote, as much as possible, by the external means of instruction and example, in the hearts of the heathens, an experimental knowledge of Christ; from which spontaneously arises that faith in him which is generally professed, but rarely practised, in many nations called Christian, and which proves a source of eternal felicity. Hence the institution appears to be entirely of a spiritual and religious nature. It is free from all national concerns and political intrigues. Its object is not affected by any vicissitude or revolution in government: it is the same under the English as under the Dutch, or any other administration. It was a gross mistake when it was looked upon by General Janssens as detrimental to the interests of the Batavian republic, on account of its being under the direction of persons connected with the London society. I do by no means maintain that the missionaries are strictly indifferent about the political administration of the colony in which they are permitted to reside. We consider it without doubt a blessing when it is placed by Providence

under a mild and equitable government, and a chastisement, should it be permitted to groan under the iron rod of an oppressor. But the evidence which, according to Christ's doctrine, is due by subjects to the civil power, we as such inculcated in both cases alike.

" As genuine faith in Christ consists not in a barren agnition of mere theorems, but in a practical and active principle, never failing to produce good works, it is not only not inconsistent with the religious nature of the institution, but one of its requisites, that the narrow sphere of activity to which our Hottentots are originally confined be extended gradually, by pointing out to them the various methods in which a man by his industry may co-operate to the welfare of the society of which he is a member. With this view we keep up, at least for a part, a reading and writing school, whilst Mrs. Smith (who by her respectable character attracted the friendship and esteem of General Dundas) devotes the great part of her time in teaching about twenty-four girls to knit stockings, night-caps, &c. with a surprising assiduity, and not a less surprising success. But we have hitherto not been so successful in introducing other manufactures. We have but one shoemaker, ten or twelve employing themselves in coopers' work, carpentering, sawing planks, and some as smiths. Of the women, some are occupied in soap-boiling, tanning sheep-skins, making candles, straw-hats, mats, &c.

" According to the plan adopted by General Dundas, the institution is calculated for two missionaries and a schoolmaster; and should it increase too much to be conveniently managed by three missionaries and two schoolmasters, it was esteemed more advisable to split it into distinct settlements than extend it beyond these limits.

" III. *Present circumstances.*—It is impossible exactly

to ascertain the number of people belonging to it, as always the greatest part is absent and dispersed through the colony, perhaps with a mind never to return. Since its erection, 1379, including women and children, have been successively admitted, of whom at present commonly above 300 are to be found at home.

"The institution is in its present state under the direction of their missionaries, Mr. Read, Mr. Ulbrecht and me, besides two others, Kemp and Smit, who, though only occasionally residing here till they find a place where their labours may appear to be more wanted, are employed with us in the same work. The blessing of God continues to attend this work. The number of those who have given evidences of sincere conversion (as far as they may be concluded from external appearances) amounts to sixty-four, who are in consequence of this grace christened, besides sixty-eight children. During this year, however, I have only baptised three adults. In our reading and writing-school sixty are commonly instructed; a hundred are on the list: in all about fifty have learned to write. I have mentioned twenty-four girls in Mrs. Smith's knitting-school. These have by their labours, and the excellent direction of that lady, been enabled to make a clear profit of 137 rix-dollars in the space of fourteen months.

"Notwithstanding this, the progress of the institution, considered as a society towards civilisation and social happiness, is remarkably slow, and retarded by almost insurmountable obstacles: one of these is the natural character of the Hottentot, which is *indolence*. It proves a fertile root of vice and misery, and renders him deaf to motives by which the rest of mankind are stimulated to action. Another is the *barrenness of the ground* of Bethelsdorp, being entirely unfit for agriculture. Though it be better calculated for

keeping cattle and horses, the greater part of our people, after staying a few months, and sometimes days, leave it, finding it absolutely impossible for a man who has not cattle sufficient for himself and his family, to subsist upon it; and the little money which some may have acquired by their industry soon being exhausted, on account of the enormous price which the boors extort from the institution for their corn and vegetables, being aware of the indispensable necessity of those articles.

" From this instability of the people, our school is in a state of continual fluctuation; and instruction, by repeated absence of the scholars, frequently interrupted, or entirely stopped. From this the teacher's time and patience are exhausted, being condemned to teaching without end, and with little benefit to many of his scholars.

" There is a third source of misery, viz. a multitude of children, partly orphans, partly abandoned by their unfeeling parents or more distant relations to the pity of others, who take them up like foundlings, as they really are. The condition of these is for the greatest part lamentable, and the prospect of their usefulness to humanize society unfavourable. They are little better treated than slaves; their education is neglected; and being considered as burdens to the family in which they are adopted, their case requires a more efficacious remedy than hitherto could be administered.

" I proceed to lay before your Lordship my ideas respecting the extension of Christian knowledge among the heathens, by means of missions; 1st. respecting the heathens in general; 2nd. respecting the institution at Bethelsdorp.

" The mass of heathens to be considered under the first head may be divided into nations living beyond, although

in contact, with the colony, and those who reside within the colony. These last may be subdivided into Caffres, Hottentots, Bushmen, and slaves.

" It is the command of Christ, the wish of both the European societies of London and Rotterdam, and the desire of my own heart, that the knowledge of his name be extended to them all.

" With respect to the nations beyond the limits of the colony, nothing seems required than that it please your Excellency to grant to such missionaries as shall petition for it, a free access to them through the colony, which Governor Janssens has proclaimed in the 1st article of his ordinance of 1805.

" As to the nations within the colony, it is my opinion that the best means to promote Christianity among them is by missionary institutions. There are within the limits only two such; that of the Moravian brethren at Genadendal, and that of Bethelsdorp. The third, which was established at Saak River by the Rev. Mr. Kicherer, now minister at Graaff Reinet, was considered by Governor Janssens, in the proclamation above mentioned, as within the colony, but it is abandoned.

" It is further my opinion that these two institutions are inadequate to attain the desired effect; therefore their ministers should be increased as circumstances seem to require. For the present it might be brought to five; one for the Caffres about the Bushman's River; another north of the Goup Mountains near the Rhinoceros berg, or the Tarka; and a third in the centre of the colony in the Nieuveld, near the Gamka.

" I will confine my proposals respecting Bethelsdorp to the means of obviating the three defects which I have considered as causes by which its success is chiefly retarded.

" As to the first, i. e. the means to correct the natural

indolence of the adult Hottentots.—'Tis true the consideration of the happiness of the few industrious among them has some influence in exciting others to imitate the example of the former; but the progress is so slow that it may require many years before it has any visible effect upon the bulk of the nation. 'Tis true Hottentots may be by violence and coercion forced into action. But besides that such means are irreconcileable with the character of a missionary, this violence is so far from promising any happy change in the national indolence, it will render him more averse from exertion when left to his own choice than before. With children the case is different:—could these be educated under tuition of proper persons, and by them be instructed in the principles of Christianity, vulgar literature, and kept to the exercise of the most useful arts in common life, they would be formed into useful members of society; and the rising generation by degrees put on a different appearance from what their persons now exhibit. I will continue this subject under the third head.

" As to the second source of our disappointments, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to my last letter of the 31st of July. This obstruction seems to require no other remedy than your Lordship's assigning us a more fit piece of ground in exchange for, or in addition to that of Bethelsdorp. As I had the honour to mention this before, I will not enlarge upon the subject, but submissively await what it may seem fit to direct.

" Third head.—For a more regular education of the children at the institution, a kind of orphan or work charity house seems to be necessary, in which not only orphans and abandoned children are to be taken in, but also others whose parents shall be willing to have them educated in this way gratis. As very little of conjugal or parental love is felt amongst Hottentots in general, parents would readily part

with their children; and for this reason I conjecture that there will be no difficulty in obtaining some for this house, although it may not turn out so easy to keep them there constantly at work for a certain length of time, and to prevent their running away, or being reclaimed by their parents. This may, however, be effected by the evident advantage of such an education, by their being better clothed, nourished, &c. and some little privileges, which by your Excellency's benevolence may be attached to it. The example of Mrs. Smith's knitting-school shows that such an undertaking, though arduous, may turn out successful. One great obstacle to carrying this plan into effect is the difficulty of raising a fund sufficient to afford the unavoidable expense of it.

"I never communicated this plan to the missionary society, nor can I calculate what sum that society may be able and disposed to contribute to its maintenance. But I think that a considerable supply might be expected from voluntary subscriptions by the inhabitants of this colony, especially if it should please your Lordship to encourage the subscription by your Lordship's approbation.

"The difficulty of finding persons properly qualified for the direction of the intended orphan house, with the necessary assistants, seems another obstacle of no less importance than the former. It wants a married couple, acting from mere love of the welfare of the natives, in subordination to the love of God, prepared to persevere in this work under every disappointment and opposition from different quarters.

"These are, my Lord, my ideas respecting the extension of Christian knowledge amongst the Heathens in this part of Africa. Conscious that they are susceptible of emendation, and that they cannot be realised without your Excellency's assent and co-operation, I have the honour to submit them to your Excellency's examination. * *

"J. T. Vander Kemp."

The following letter from another zealous member of Dr. Vander Kemp's society at Bethelsdorp, produced a strong impression, and tended in some degree to protect the Hottentots, although it did not produce all the good consequences which might reasonably have been expected from it :

" Bethelsdorp, August 30, 1808.

" The poor Hottentots continue to be a suffering, oppressed people; not by the government at the Cape; on the contrary, their pacific and liberal conduct is highly to be praised; and we doubt not, if the governor knew of the horrid crimes committed in the distant districts, measures would be taken to restrain them. A poor Hottentot came to us a little time since, who had been kept in service twenty-five years without being hired, and was now obliged to run away to get free, and leave his property behind. When asked if he had children, he said he had left a daughter behind pickled—that is, she had been terribly flogged with a sainbar, (or whip made of the rhinoceros skin,) and then a great quantity of salt rubbed into the wounds—sometimes gunpowder and vinegar are mixed with salt. He supposed she must be dead. We have lately been assured of three horrid murders of a Hottentot, his wife and child. The Hottentot was one Ourson, an excellent character, who had been waggoner to Colonel Lemoyne at Fort Frederick, and was repairing peaceably from Graaff Reinet to our institution. They were met by a number of African peasants. After they had conversed some time in a friendly manner, his hands were tied to his knees, on which he was placed, and shot dead. The infant was then taken from its mother's arms by its legs, and the brains beaten out. When the tears were seen to fall from the mother's eyes, a savage

boor, now living in our neighbourhood, drew his knife, and threatened, if he saw another tear, he would cut her eyes out. As soon as the child was dead, the mother was thrown upon her back, and her throat cut.

" It was Brother Vander Kemp's pleading the necessity of punishing such crimes to General Janssens, that occasioned his being ordered to the Cape. We are in the way of hearing more of these things than other persons, and could multiply the account of such as I have mentioned, and of a more horrid nature; but should be perhaps as little believed as Vaillant and Barrow.

" We pray and we hope that the friends of humanity will assist us, that this horrid scene may be changed, and that our government may be an instrument to use active means to discover and punish these crimes, whilst it tolerates and encourages the preaching of the glorious gospel among all ranks of people."—*Missionary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 205.

This letter attracted notice in England, and in October 1810, the writer was summoned to appear the next day before the Landrost. He found an order had been given by the governor, Lord Caledon, for his examination on oath touching the grounds of this letter. Mr. Read acknowledged having written it, and mentioned the parties who could give evidence to the facts. He then wrote the following letter to the governor:—

" Bethelsdorp, Oct. 19, 1810.

" My Lord,

" On the 8th of this month I was summoned to appear before the Landrost, to give information upon some acts of cruelty and murder, mentioned in a letter of mine written to England, dated August 30, 1808. I have given him in-

formation of the persons who had informed me, and shall with great cheerfulness give every further information upon the subject in my power, if it should be your Lordship's desire. I have likewise given to the Landrost two papers containing an avowal of similar acts of barbarity which have been brought to my knowledge, since I have been in this country; and in which, as far as I know, no justice has ever been administered, and not the least notice taken of them, which is undoubtedly the cause of the continuance of the inhumanity and cruel deeds committed against this poor people.

"It hath pleased God, in his providence, my Lord, to cast me and my fellow-missionaries in this part of the colony, in such a situation as enables us to become better acquainted with the sufferings of this poor people than any other persons whatever. The poor Hottentot in vain turns his eye to any person to whom he dares unbosom his wounded spirit, and lay open his sore complaints; he has sought redress, perhaps at the hazard of his life; at last he finds in a missionary a friend, whom he afterwards begins to experience as more or less concerned for his temporal and spiritual welfare. Then, and not without some degree of fear, he tells his pitiable story; and even a heart of stone must bleed to hear the father relate the loss of his child, the child that of the father, the tender husband his wife, and the wife the husband; and the survivors forced into an almost endless bondage, and orphans made worse than slaves. I hope that the time is near when their cries will be heard, and their numerous complaints impartially attended to, and effectual means adopted to deliver them from such oppressions. Providence seems to point to you, my Lord, as the person to whom this is reserved; and we shall rejoice when it shall engage your Lordship's attention, and the evil be

cured. We shall consider our prayers answered, and our hopes of your Lordship's good intentions realised, and your memory will be revered by hundreds of these sufferers, and made precious to their posterity.

" The information I have given is a very small part of what we should be enabled to produce, and, indeed, what ought to be produced, to prove the acts already committed, and to shew that the Hottentots are, to this moment, a suffering oppressed people, notwithstanding your Lordship's late good intentions and active measures to put a stop to some of these abominations. J. Read."

Dr. Vander Kemp afterwards wrote as follows upon the same subject:—

Dr. Vander Kemp to Lord Caledon.

" Bethelsdorp, January 4, 1810.

" I find it my indispensable duty to represent to your Excellency the deplorable condition to which the Hottentot nation under your Excellency's government is reduced by the tyranny of the colonists, and the flagitious conduct of the inferior magistrates, to whom the administration of justice in some degree is committed, more particularly in the district of Uitenhage.

" At your Excellency's accession to the government of the colony, your Excellency found this nation an oppressed people. The first letter which your Excellency received written by your servant, represented it as such. With confidence I expected that your Excellency would have taken effectual measures to put a stop to the current of barbarities to which this unhappy people is exposed: I find myself disappointed. Your Excellency has indeed employed such

measures, which, in every other country where laws are respected, would prove sufficient to stem this torrent of iniquities. But amongst a people accustomed to trample upon laws and regulations with impunity, proclamations may be issued after proclamations without any effect, unless the executive power exerts itself to add strength to their contents. Such is the case in this country, which my duty and religion forbid me to leave your Excellency ignorant of.

" In spite of your Excellency's proclamation of the 1st of November, 1809, the boors continue to take and keep Hottentots into service by force, and women and children are torn from their husbands and parents. Their cattle is stolen, and the cruelty with which they are treated is often inexpressible. The field-cornets are frequently the ringleaders in these oppressions. Some of these shut up the free Hottentots within the narrow limits of their field-cornetcies. Others force them by menaces to sign the hire contracts which they have forged, and give energy to their words by blows. Others compel Hottentots who have served out their time to remain in service till they have procured another servant in their place. The conduct of the Landrost and heemraad respecting the numerous complaints arising from these enormities, which are unpunished, is such, that no stronger encouragement can be given,—no wider door opened for the guilty to go on in adding crimes to crimes,—no means contrived better calculated to deter the plaintiffs from submitting again their complaints to the decision of judges, who show themselves to be friends, relations, and even accomplices of the malefactors.

" The personal conduct of the Landrost without his court is not less oppressive. All that a Hottentot coming from the remotest corner of the district to implore his assistance against the barbarity of a monster, who has perhaps taken

his cattle, or child, &c. from him, if the Landrost condescends to pay any attention to the complaint, can expect, is to receive an order directed to his master or field-cornet to restore him his cattle, &c. At the sight of this paper the poor man trembles, considering it as the sentence of his defeat. In vain he represents the danger of being murdered, or worse treated than before he complained, if he is to be the carrier of such a letter. He must go himself! In vain he requests to be accompanied with some person who may serve him as a safeguard, or at least as a witness of what he expects to suffer. No—he must go alone, or be punished for his disobedience. If he be weak enough to execute this order, it is ten to one if he parts not with his skin for his obedience, and if he ever returns.

" I will not exemplify this by entering into a detail of the various issue of these and other inhuman proceedings, which would far exceed the limits of a letter, but confine myself to lay before your Excellency the circumstances which more immediately induce me to address your Excellency on the subject.

" Receiving from time to time by people belonging to this institution, information that J. A. Van Nieukerk, field-cornet of the Kromme River, assisted his boors in violating your Excellency's proclamation, by forcing free Hottentots into their service, and forbidding them to trespass over Gamtoos River, using the Landrost's name to give more authority to his proceedings, I reported his conduct to the Landrost, requesting that the false contracts might be annulled. The Hottentots, of whom I sent some to him as witnesses of the field-cornet's conduct, and to be indemnified by adjudicating to them the third part of the fine incurred by their masters, according to the tenor of your Excellency's proclamation, were defeated by injustice. The field-cornet being sent for, de-

nied the charge. The decision of the case was deferred to the next meeting of the court of Heemraaden. In the mean time he, with unprecedented audacity, continued to force more people into his own and other boors' service; and two of the complaining Hottentots were gained over to declare that they, not by force, but voluntarily, had hired themselves to their masters; and Nieukerk at the appointed meeting of the court declared them to be at liberty to leave their masters' service.

"After he had been brought to confession that he had forced the other Hottentots into service, the Landrost declared the proceedings to be terminated. But the guilty were not punished, and the two complaining Hottentots of course dismissed, without receiving that share which according to the proclamation they have an unquestionable right to demand; nor was the case of the three others, likewise reported to be treated in the same manner, taken into consideration.

"This is a specimen of the administration of justice in this district: in that of Graaf Reinet the oppression seems to be still heavier.

"I beg leave to conclude this letter with the following observations:—

"I.—I have only in general and vague terms mentioned the existing and increasing oppressions of the Hottentots. It will be your Excellency's pleasure to procure them that satisfaction which justice requires.

"To effect this, I confess the facts must be particularized, and your Excellency convinced of the truth.

"Though I think I shall be able to prove what I have advanced, I am not sufficiently informed of the particulars of many cases brought to my knowledge, to place them in their true light. Of a still greater number I have only a very

slight knowledge; and there are no doubt many latent which I am entirely ignorant of, and which cannot be brought to light unless by a diligent and impartial investigation from the Hottentots themselves. Neither the Landrost nor his heemraaden are the persons from whom such an investigation can be expected; and few of the Hottentots, even if invited by your Excellency, will be disposed to plead their cause against the Christians, as they term themselves, before such a tribunal.

" If your Excellency could find a man of resolution, and so well acquainted with the real character of the boors as a former commissioner, Mr. Maynier, was, and at the same time of the strictest integrity; and it pleased your Excellency to depute him with an extraordinary commission, to take the necessary information respecting the facts alluded to on the spot, then and then only could your Excellency be enabled to judge what further steps to take, to remove the disgraceful stain which so long has tarnished the lustre of this government.

II.—If the verification of the hire contracts between boors and Hottentots remains in the hands of the field-cornets, the Hottentots will always be exposed to be deceived by false contracts.

" This evil could be avoided, if, in place of this mode of hiring, the Hottentot who engages himself into service were to appear before the secretary of the district with a letter from his master, containing the conditions of the mutual agreement, and to declare in his master's absence his voluntary consent to the stipulated articles. The secretary then entering his name, &c. in a register to be kept on purpose, at a small fee to be paid by the master, there could be no dispute about the validity of the contract.

" I have represented the Landrost's conduct in an unfa-

vourable light—I did it with reluctance, to give rest to my conscience. I did it, not before I had by repeated efforts in a friendly and respectful manner endeavoured to make him sensible of his mistakes and their consequences. With much more readiness I acknowledge his merits in other respects, which I by no means wish to depreciate ; but his yielding to the overbearing impulse of a brutal peasantry to break through the barriers of the laws made to restrain cruelty and oppression, is at least a weakness which in a man in his station I think an unpardonable defect.

(Signed) " J. T. Vander Kemp."

On the 20th of March, Dr. Vander Kemp and Mr. Read were summoned to Cape Town, to give testimony in these cases. In the course of the month of May, they underwent various examinations before the ministers of justice; but the departure of the governor, Earl Caledon, delayed the further investigations. In the meantime, however, the important measure of instituting judicial circuits was taken, which therefore the colony owes to these laudable exertions of the missionaries.

The legal inquiries which originated in the foregoing letter of Mr. Read, had been interrupted by war to expel the Caffres. We have seen that Sir George Yonge, although desirous of their return beyond the Fish River, contemplated only such means of effecting it as were consistent with their rights and our own character. Barrow collected his information at the same period, and distinctly states that Conga's people, the Gonaquabis, were entitled to the country they then occupied about the Bosjesman's river. What opinion was formed on the subject by the last Dutch authorities, is not very clear. If they resolved, as Alberti relates, to drive them away, they possibly considered their settlement intrusive, as Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock

may also be presumed to have done. In this respect the two last depended much upon the reports of Colonel Collins, an officer of merit, but, if it be fair to judge from the documents imperfectly published, unequal to the task of collecting and digesting materials upon this subject.

In 1809 he was sent as Commissioner to the eastern districts, with the principal object of removing the Caffres beyond the Fish River. After ascertaining the disposition of the tribes still remaining in Caffreland, he proceeded towards those located in the colony. It must necessarily have been desired to obtain their removal peaceably; yet he appears to have visited one influential chief, Hambie, for a day only; and not to have seen the other, T'Conga, at all.

It is said that Colonel Collins was led away by local intrigue to neglect the very obvious duty of communicating with those people before they were attacked; but it is more probable that he merely yielded to the common unjust feeling of their little claim to be treated with ordinary consideration.

It was long before the unfortunate advice prevailed so as to produce the great Commando of 1811. In the mean time, the insufficient dispensation of justice between man and man multiplied the common acts of mutual outrage incident to all societies; which ought not, however, to have raised arguments in favour of the partisans of hostility. The Caffre chiefs were not backward to bring marauders to punishment; but no proper and ready methods were adopted to effect a border scheme of justice, and to continue general tranquillity, by punishing occasional robberies and violences as they occurred; and the offers repeatedly made by able missionaries for attempting to civilise the Caffres were rejected down to 1816. The missionaries were also harassed for several years in their endeavours to ad-

vance the Hottentots, who continued much connected with the other native tribes.

The Earl of Caledon appears to have wished to do right on this head, and especially in regard to the Caffre war of 1811, and to have deliberated long before he fell into the errors which gained so much strength under his government. The plans which his Lordship at length pursued for driving out numerous families scattered through the colony from Swellendam eas ward, were in vigorous progress from January 1809, and the war to enforce them was left to his Excellency Sir John Cradock, under whom, in 1811, the fatal measures were consummated, to which the colony owes a series of struggles to be long felt in their consequences upon its character and finances.

Dr. Vander Kemp died fore the measures were complete; but he had made a last effort to avert the blow. It stood up almost alone against the imprudent and cruel policy in which the whole colony besides seems to have concurred; and again offered to establish missions amongst the Caffre tribes.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. F. Cradock.

" May it please your Excellency,

" Whereas the undersigned, your Excellency's petitioners, residents at Bethelsdorp, in the district of Uitenhage, have been called to Cape Town by order of the governor, Lord Caledon, to speak to the particulars of several cases of oppression, murder, and cruelty, to which the Hottentots have been exposed, and to this very day continue to be exposed, chiefly in the more remote districts of the colony; and under which not less than 112 murders have been brought to the petitioners' knowledge, for the most part to have been per-

petrated during their stay in this country, and communicated by them to the commissioners of the worshipful court of justice appointed for the investigation: they humbly and earnestly request that it please your Excellency to take the suggested cases into your consideration, as a specimen of the barbarity and injustice this oppressed and helpless nation is brought to by the Christian colonists, and by the inferior magistrates in these districts; and to take such measures as to your Excellency may appear most efficacious to put a stop to these abominable practices, and thereby to efface the stain which hitherto has disgraced the colony, to whose government your Excellency is now providentially called.

"That, secondly, it may please your Excellency to grant petitioners and their fellow missionaries at Bethelsdorp, a free access to the garrisons at Fort Frederick, at Uitenhage, that they may have an opportunity to speak, at least once in a fortnight, the word of God to them, as has been permitted before, till the 23d day of February, 1811, after that they have been deprived of this opportunity by order of Major Cuyler, provincial Landrost of Uitenhage, for reasons unknown to petitioners.

"Thirdly—That whereas the Caffres near the Great Fish River have repeatedly signified to the petitioners their desire to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, it may please your Excellency to permit petitioners to establish a mission for the instruction of the people, either on this or the other side of that river; or should your Excellency judge this inexpedient, to grant them the permission to erect a missionary establishment among the Tamboukis, from which nation the knowledge of the Gospel may generally be extended to the Caffres, without forming any communication between them and the colony.

"And, finally, that whereas the institution of Bethels-

dorp swarms with a number of orphans and children abandoned by their parents, who, for want of the means of subsistence, and a proper education, are in danger of degenerating into vagabonds, it may please your Excellency to authorise the missionaries at that settlement to erect, under your Excellency's patronage, if possible, a kind of orphan, or charity, or work house, in which, as in a seminary, the rising Hottentot generation,—children of the above-mentioned description,—may, by education and instruction in the arts of civilised life, be converted into useful members of society; and that to effect this the said missionaries may be, by your Excellency, invested with the power of exercising over them such a control as by the laws of the country tutors exercise over their pupils, and commonly is given to the managers of similar institutions.

"The petitioners, recommending the institution at Bethelsdorp, the Hottentot nation at large, and themselves, to your Excellency's protection; and praying that the Supreme Arbiter of all human affairs may render your Excellency's government prosperous, and an universal blessing to this colony, have the honour to subscribe themselves with the most profound respect."

"Cape Town, September, 1811."

To this memorial, it was replied on the 8th of October:

"1. That Lord Caledon had given the necessary orders about the cases of complaint.

"2. That no permission could be given for a mission amongst the Tambookies at present, on account of the state of the country.

"3. That Mr. Vander Lingen being ordered to join the Cape regiment at Uitenhage, the services of missionaries were not required.

"4. That the Governor could not judge if Bethelsdorp was a proper place for the orphan-house upon the extensive scale proposed."

In November or December, 1811, a preliminary inquiry was made on the spot by a special commission sent from Cape Town, where in the mean time Dr. Vander Kemp died. In 1812, Mr. Read received the following official notice of the further proceedings :—

"Secretary's Office, August 6, 1812.

"Sir,

"Referring to the depositions of yourself and the late Dr. Vander Kemp before a committee of the worshipful the court of justice, in May and June 1811, relative to certain acts of atrocious ill-treatment and oppression said to have been committed by some farmers of this colony on Hottentots, of which no legal cognizance has hitherto been taken, I am directed to acquaint you that H. M. Fiscal has made a full report to the Governor on the subject, and has classed the offences alleged under the three following heads :—

"1. In cases of wilful murder or other cruelties committed on Hottentots, which require a criminal prosecution for punishment, and which have taken place under the present English government.

"2. In cases of wilful murder or other cruelties inflicted on Hottentots, which are liable to a criminal prosecution, and which either took place previous to the last surrender of this colony, or which it is uncertain when they happened.

"3. In cases of arbitrary conduct or real injustice, as also such as admit of indemnification to the Hottentots, but do not demand criminal prosecution—

without excepting whether they have taken place under the present government, or under former ones.

With respect to which his Excellency has confirmed the direction of his predecessor, the Earl of Caledon—that is, he has directed immediate proceedings to be instituted against the persons implicated in the transactions alleged in the list No. 1. These prosecutions would have been commenced at the last commission of circuit, had not the disturbed state of the frontier, from the Caffre war, prevented the possibility thereof; but tranquillity being now re-established, there is no reason why the whole should not be brought to a full hearing and impartial determination before the ensuing commission of circuit for Graff Reinet, Uitenhage, and George.

" His Excellency has directed further information to be collected upon the cases in list No. 2.

" And with regard to the cases in No. 3, his Excellency has desired that you may be informed, that as the circumstances therein alluded to do not appear to be such as to require the immediate interference of government, the parties should bring their statements before the Landrost's court, or the judges of circuit, according to the nature of the cases."

What was the result of the judicial inquiries does not appear to have been ever distinctly published. The war which is stated in the last letter to have interrupted them, was carried on in order to effect the objects contemplated by Sir George Yonge, (p. 80, above) with a very different spirit. The expulsion of the Caffres by that war, and with them most unjustly the Gona Hottentots, cost us, as has been urged so often, thrice the value of the land we acquired; and during ten years

led to evils difficult to be estimated. The wildest opinions were entertained concerning the natives. Year after year we find the Caffres in particular declared, against all good experience, as "irreclaimable;"* as "perpetual enemies;"† as "the faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the peace and prosperity of the colony;"‡ "marauders and savages;"§ whilst we were indefatigably employed in repressing their earnest struggles for improvement. The effect of our impolicy was pernicious to ourselves in many respects; but the evil was surprisingly exemplified in the unacquaintedness which it occasioned as to our relative position. The strange anticipations of border tranquillity, as in 1813, 1817, and 1819, when Caffre invasions proved to be on eve of breaking out, should alone have convinced the government that its means of information were miserably deficient. The system of non-intercourse with the natives, and of resistance to the wise exertions of missionaries, continued with little substantial change under Lord Caledon, Sir John Cradock, and Lord Charles Somerset, until the arrival of the commissioners of inquiry in 1823. Sir Rufane Donkin's views were slightly better than those of his predecessors; but the errors of all were unquestionably great; and some of their acts deplorably oppressive, however well intended; and the home government seems to have given the least possible attention to these affairs. An accurate history ought to be compiled of the period from our second conquest of the Cape, with a full appendix of the proclamations;—returns of expense and official papers sent to Cape Town by all the border functionaries;—and the dis-

* Sir John Cradock's proclamation, June 6, 1812.

† Sir John Cradock's proclamation, December 5, 1812.

‡ Proclamation, January 7, 1814.

§ Lord Charles Somerset's proclamation, April 18, 1817.

patches to and from England to the Cape upon the subject. It would be a warning against error, and be of great service to the civilisation of South Africa. The commissioners of inquiry, armed with nothing but opinion, soon began substantial reforms after 1823.

From 1826 to 1829, Major-General Bourke as Lieut.-Governor; Mr. Bigge, Major Colebrooke, and Mr. Blair, as Commissioners of Inquiry; and Lieut.-General the Honourable Sir Lowry Cole, as Governor, are in various degrees responsible for the policy pursued at the Cape of Good Hope. During this period, until 1829, the frontier continued free from serious disturbances on the part of the Caffres. In 1828 two laws, No. 49 and 50, were passed by General Bourke, which can scarcely fail to raise the natives within the colony, by entitling them to liberty and lands; and to improve strangers by permitting intercourse with us. One of these laws, the 50th, is thought by a few unprejudiced * persons to have been too sudden; but they may be expected to yield conviction to the evidence of events. If the reform be imperfect, it is unquestionably preferable to the old course; and it is probable that the great principles sanctioned by both laws will not again be violated.† It is, however, of the first importance that the execution of them be carefully guarded; which the publication of details in the Gazette will alone effectually ensure. Although considerable changes have been made of

* The *prejudiced* opponents of the 50th ordinance, which gives freedom and hope to the Hottentots, have availed themselves of considerable opportunities of expressing their views in the Cape newspapers; and their arguments may be left safely to the comments of the acute editor of the "Commercial Advertiser." In England the point is settled.

† In 1829 one was partially repealed, in consequence partly of the previous imprudent execution of it, and partly from our unjust conduct towards the Caffres. See p. 90. &c. above.

late in the old system, and its evils are generally admitted, it is very far from being thoroughly abandoned in practice, or succeeded by sound principles. Intercourse for trading with the tribes is allowed, but unnecessary obstacles still exist against its being prosecuted with facility; and effectual means are not yet taken to lessen the mischiefs often incident to intercourse, either when licenced, or when carried on as it heretofore always was, to a certain extent, in defiance of restraints. The present Governor of the Cape, too, is probably as little controuled or assisted in these matters by the home government as his predecessors; and he seems equally with them to be unaware of the impossibility of justice being done, (with the best dispositions in the local administration), when the people are so destitute as to be incapable of themselves assisting to vindicate their wrongs; and of the like impossibility of repressing the aggressions of white people upon their uncivilized neighbours, unless by very different means from those now in operation. It is not harsh to say that, substantially, the present course, except in its ample toleration of the missionaries, is little better than one of vain regrets that such evils should be inflicted, and of feeble exertions to prevent them. To recur once more to the invaluable system of cotemporary publication of details upon the spot—there is one circumstance which renders that method of reform most promising of good. It would fix responsibility upon the governor who executes violent measures against the natives, and so often bring out the origin of them. In 1811 and 1812 Sir John Cradock carried on the ruinous war of the Zureveld. If he had been compelled to open his campaign with a regular manifesto, he would have carefully traced the plans to their true author, Lord Caledon. In 1829 Sir Lowry Cole expelled the son of our old ally Gaika, Macomo, beyond

the Keiskamma. The plan, however, was laid some years before; and if the governor, who thus only executed the unwise and barbarous design, had been bound to announce it to the world in plain terms, he would have protected his own honour by attributing it to his orders, and to its real originators. For the want of this, frightful things are now done, with a coolness only to be accounted for by the obscurity in which they are involved.—There is, however, no reason to relax exertion, which experience shews may tend to check such doings. The opinions and conduct of the Cape Government are unquestionably improved. Forty years ago Le Vaillant declared it was useless to inform the authorities of Cape Town of barbarities perpetrated in the interior. Twenty years ago zealous missionaries were not silent; and after much struggling and delay Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock repaired, in some degree, the wrongs denounced, in 1808, by Dr. Vander Kemp's colleague; and in 1829 the writer of these pages reported (p. 31, above) the commission of great outrages to Sir Lowry Cole, who *instantly* set about a very spirited inquiry, ending in no inconsiderable redress.

All the reports of the commissioners of inquiry have not been published; but enough may be collected from what has proceeded from them to justify the opinion that the present state of things at the Cape, on very numerous points, is not attributable to their errors. Such measures as they seem to have advised, were obviously wanted in order both to promote the civilization of South Africa, and to prevent the speedy recurrence of recent sufferings, quite as undeserved by the natives as mischievous to our interests. The years 1828 and 1829 have witnessed events which, when known in England, can scarcely fail to awaken some indignation. The havoc committed upon a people with whom we unquestionably had no cause of enmity, is the principal event alluded to;

and its details will be found in this book under the fifth chapter, in which a remedy for such things is proposed. The campaign of 1827,—the expulsion of the Caffres in 1829 from part of the neutral ground,—and the destruction of a missionary institution,—the proceedings upon the Orange River for 700 miles from its mouth to its several sources,—and the uncompensated encroachments upon the Bushman country, are amongst the proofs that our policy requires further amendment, if we would hold South Africa without reproach. The present mode of conducting many affairs there, I repeat earnestly, exposes the government to the most important errors, from the ignorance of facts which it occasions, and which an extremely slight exertion might remove.

All these topics have been discussed under specific heads in the foregoing chapters, where some remarks are made in regard to methods existing for a salutary reform of the impolicy, which now leads to so many costly sacrifices.

In the mean time the conjecture may be safely hazarded, that, as the present administration of the Cape cannot justly claim the credit of being guided by better intentions than those which influenced its predecessors for the last forty years; so it must be both better provided than it now is with means of knowledge, and of prudent activity; and it must also essentially improve some of its views, in order to avoid the misfortunes which they inflicted upon their unhappy neighbours, not without great cost and well-deserved suffering in return.

On the other hand, it requires but little reflection to describe satisfactorily how great will be the reward, and how noble the object is, in following up a career of wisdom and benevolence in this healthy and extending frontier, so as not only to lessen our present expenditure, but to reach the heart of Africa as friends and Christians, and ultimately defeat the evils of Mahometanism, now spreading rapidly from the north.

APPENDIX, No. 4.

Missionary Proceedings.

Such has been our civil policy for a century and a half upon the eastern parts of the Cape in particular; and well does it deserve—with its consequences of bloody contentions —with the gain of a few square miles of land at enormous cost—and with a derangement of all ordinary relations between man and man—to be contrasted with the exertions of Christian missionaries upon widely different principles. The influence of these exertions over the native people, is a strong proof of their importance to good government. Allowance being made for their unavoidable circumstances, and also for the needless obstacles till lately thrown in their way, it will be denied by few that they have been successful. There is no instance in South Africa of the natives failing to appreciate, in some degree, their usefulness to themselves; thus proving their own capacity for a better condition. Nor has this success been derived from what can justly be called a temporary recent zeal. Their last forty years' labours are, in fact, only revivals of what missionaries did eminently well at earlier periods in various parts of the

world. Their excellence has long been proved in many trials; and it does not lessen their intrinsic worth, if, as in British America two centuries ago, as well as at later periods, or as in South Africa, in the instance of the Moravians in 1744, they yielded to overwhelming obstacles on the part of the white people; or if, where they stand firm, they share in ordinary human imperfections.

Want of space compels me to omit a narrative, which was prepared, of the proceedings of the Moravian, the South African, the London Society, the Wesleyan, the Glasgow Societies; and of those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

If they do not at all times pursue the best methods of conduct, the evils they cause are the disadvantageous expenditure of a certain quantity of money and labour; the setting a bad example; or, at the worst, as not very often happens, they may foster a spirit of enthusiasm in religion in the place of doctrines and practice supported by the Bible.

Their efforts for the happiness of the aborigines are undoubtedly unfortunate in such results; but perfectly harmless in comparison with the bloody and heart-breaking consequences of the errors and neglects of government in regard to the same people. And yet the government's means of better things are large; its course free from internal controul; and the obstacles it has to contend with beyond those common to both parties, are such only as its own course creates.

Government should, indeed, strive to amend its measures by greater conformity to many of the missionaries' principles; and it should, by its conduct, acknowledge the time to be arrived, when, through their labours, and through all other proper means which their views prove likely to be produc-

tive of good, the African should be raised to the place which his condition enables him to fill.

The last two years (1828 and 1829) brought the interior economy of most of the missionary stations, in Caffreland in particular, under the view of an unusual variety of persons, and under the test of several important events; the result of which is a widely increasing opinion of their usefulness, in which opinion the government unquestionably participates. Their steady progress and the publicity attending all their operations, are pledges that they will not fall into some great errors attributed to their fellows in other parts of the world. But they will do wisely to examine mission history with anxious care. Valuable lessons may be learned from it. The engrossing civil spirit of Popery is far from being solely of Roman growth; and the failures of the powerful body, founded at Rome in 1622 for "the propagation of the faith," prove that something more is needed to ensure success in spreading Christianity amongst heathens, in addition to a lavish expenditure from Europe, to "vast numbers of missionaries," and "books to facilitate the study of barbarous languages," or "seminaries for the education of a prodigious number of young men, set apart for foreign missions," and even the important measure of giving "instruction and support to pagan youths, yearly sent from abroad to Europe, to return to their respective countries, and to become instructors of their blinded brethren." Such are parts of the plan of this society; and even Mosheim, no blind friend of any papal institution, declares that "its views are vast, and its exploits almost incredible." * Yet has it rarely instilled a spirit into the people capable of reproducing similar effects amongst themselves for their pro-

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. v. p. 2.

tection; and has never been able to improve its own European government, by exhibiting proofs of its success.

Much of the failure of the popish missionaries is to be attributed to the civil government of the colonies where they have laboured; but much to their own principles. They do not make "men" of their converts. A recent traveller at the Cape praises the Moravians for that they had pursued a system which had made the Hottentot "respect himself, and given him a rank among men;"* and the Moravians are not the most successful of Protestant missionaries on this head. In Paraguay, the Jesuits did what will be a lasting honour to them; but they kept the people in leading-strings, and aimed to save them by a visionary seclusion from the collision and injustice of the whites; forgetting that collisions must come, in which none can long be safe who are not raised to a condition of self-protection.

The missionaries in English South Africa have already made a very great impression upon the natives; of which I regret not to have space to give many striking proofs. The following anecdotes, however, may not be unacceptable:—

The Moravians have recently established a station on the Klipplaat River, beyond the eastern frontier, which has been exposed to the attacks of the tribe so much injured by us in the campaign of 1828. Not long since this tribe plundered the station of a quantity of cattle; but learning that they belonged to MISSIONARIES, of whose character they have lately begun to hear, they sent a message expressive of their determination not again to molest them.—The Moravian Schmidt† had already done at Baviaan's Kloof in 1744

* Rose's Four Years in South Africa, 1829, p. 276.

† See Sparrman's Travels.

what, after 30 years interval, left distinct traces on the Hottentot people.—Dr. Vander Kemp, also, who died in 1812, has made a remarkable impression upon the Hottentots and Caffres. The writer of these papers recently visited the eastern settlements of the Cape and Caffreland, and found his memory venerated there in the highest degree. Numbers described his person and manners with lively satisfaction; and one old man burst into tears upon being shown his portrait.—Further, at an entertainment given at Theopolis a year or two ago by some Hottentots to a large body of their countrymen, some missionaries were present. After dinner one of the latter, (not connected with the society, of which Dr. Vander Kemp was a member,) proposed his name for a toast. He accompanied his proposal with many terms of respect; and concluded by saying, that "if the departed could be supposed to take an interest in the affairs of their friends on earth, Dr. Vander Kemp must look down with complacency upon the proof which that meeting gave of the worthiness of those objects of his care, when amongst them." This address greatly affected the party; and after their satisfaction had been long and loudly testified, Andries Stoffels, a Gona Hottentot, who has during many years been a public-spirited member of Bethelsdorp, rose to reply:—He thanked the previous speaker for his countrymen; and in his turn concluded an eloquent eulogium upon his "Father Vander Kemp," in words, of which the following is but a feeble translation:—"It would be wrong in an unlearned man like me," said Andries, "to presume to say, whether the souls of the dead are any more concerned in what is passing here. It is too hard for me. But one thing I will engage for: however it may be with Father Vander Kemp,—whether or not he can now come down to us, this kind recollection of

him, and of his care of us and of ours, has raised all our hearts to him in another place." *

* Andries Stoffels is mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Campbell as one of his companions to a Kurreechane in 1819; and he is one of the witnesses to the persecuted bushman's declaration at Toverberg, taken by Dr. Philip in 1825, and preserved in his Researches in South Africa. In the campaign of 1828 he was chosen the captain of 70 men, whom Bethelsdorp sent armed with our troops to attack Chaka; and he discharged his duty upon that occasion to the entire satisfaction of the British officers. When young, he took an active share in the feuds between the Hottentots and the boors 30 years ago; and was wounded at the Sunday's River in 1802, when Vander Walt and his commando were compelled to surrender to the Hottentots under Klaas Stuurman after two or three days hard fighting. He is now a constant and an able speaker at the numerous meetings held by the Bethelsdorp people for religious and civil purposes; and the writer, after more than two months frequent communication with him at that place, is happy in bearing testimony to the variety of his information, and the soundness of his views respecting the native people.

APPENDIX, No. 5.

The Aborigines of New South Wales.

The natives of New South Wales, although a kindly-disposed race, are probably farther removed from civilization than any other people upon earth. They require, therefore, to be led with the greater care from their uncivilized state, and to be the more shielded from our ordinary injustice than any other barbarous people. On the contrary, however, they have been, and they are now in the highest degree, oppressed, through the founding of a convict colony among them, and through their utter destitution of property. They offer, in regard to commerce, no motives for the consideration of private traders. Their position is such with respect to other Europeans, and they are so weak, that no political inducement exists for the government to conciliate them; and missionary bodies wisely go to scenes where the obstacles to success are less formidable, and the objects of their zeal more numerous. Justice towards them on our part has never been thought of. It is impossible to say that any attempt is making to afford them an equivalent in any shape for the land which we are seizing in every quarter. The amount of exertion by his Majesty's government does not

deserve notice; and what individuals have done has failed for want of support, proportioned to the requisites of the case.

The English rules of evidence, the absence of interpreters, and the ill-conduct of the people (both settlers and convicts, with special exceptions,) render it exceedingly difficult to cause the law to be put in force against murderers and other heinous wrong-doers towards the natives; and when, by any concurrence of favourable circumstances, conviction has been obtained, the government has sympathized too much with the oppressing class, and too little with the oppressed, to permit justice to have its course.

About 1799 several white people committed a murder of an aggravated character, near Windsor, on the Hawkesbury, and were convicted. The case, however, was *referred to England*, and the culprits ultimately escaped the punishment due to the crime.

In 1812, a committee of the House of Commons, in a report upon transportation, noticed the unequal dispensing of justice between white people and natives.

Governor Macquarie once caused a white man to be executed for murdering a black native, a constable, whom the white man resisted and killed, and the law of jurisdiction in the Colonial Courts was well settled. Nevertheless, in 1826, as foul a murder as is possible to be conceived was perpetrated upon a little native boy at the Myall River, near the Australian Company's settlement; and the conviction of three men was secured, through the integrity and right feeling of a private individual, Mr. Pennington; yet the men are said not to have been executed. In the same year a black man was shot in cold blood at a stake by the soldiers upon Hunter's River; and other outrages of a like nature in the same district were necessarily stimulated by the illegal proceed-

ings of the Governor of the Colony. The administration of the law being then also, in a great measure, taken out of the proper channel, the natural consequence was, the commission of the most cruel barbarities by inferior persons. The whole transactions relative to the military execution on Hunter's River, in 1826, and the trial in 1827, of Lieut. Low, ought to be laid before Parliament, in order to this subject being seen in its true light. The Hottentots at the Cape have found friends; and the natives of an English colony should not be without them.

With such practices prevailing, in regard to the highest order of crime, towards the natives, it is not surprising that in all other relations of life they should have found our convict settlement not only unpropitious to their improvement, but fatal to their existence even in these more enligthened days. We are, indeed, fast destroying them in a manner deeply revolting.

There is a public body in this country especially bound to consider the case of the aborigines. In the House of Commons, as long ago as 1826, a very foolish but a very wicked attack was made upon the Australian Company through Sir Charles Forbes. The Under-Secretary of State repelled the charge; and Mr. John Smith claimed credit for *far better motives* in regard to his connection with *this company, than the hopes of just gain.* What special objects existed either for advancing free emigration to New South Wales, or otherwise, was not stated; but he, and every individual concerned for the best interests of that colony, will admit that to do justice to its aboriginal inhabitants is one of their first duties. To such persons, therefore, especially, as well as his Majesty's government, I would submit the following passages from recent publications.

The case happened on the Myall, as already mentioned in

this note; and having been the public prosecutor of the men proved in two trials to have been murderers, I can venture to assert that a more unmitigated case was never presented to a court of justice than the first trial displayed, which I conducted myself. The second took place after I had quitted Sydney, when more of the accused were apprehended; and as a conviction was obtained in it, the guilt of the parties is to be presumed to have been equally clear upon that occasion. Nevertheless, it is said no execution was done on the murderers; and if all the subsequent facts are correctly stated in these two passages, they present four points of the greatest importance to every reflecting mind:—

1st. That the natives have a keen sense of justice.

2d. That if assured of justice being done by us, they will repress their dispositions to do it in their own way.

3d. That by activity and firmness justice may be carried into effect.

4th. That the partial influence of local white feelings prevents the execution of justice by us.

The passages alluded to are as follows:—

"A constable had killed a principal native near Port Stephens. The sawyers appeared dreadfully alarmed, saying that vengeance would be taken. They asked for fire-arms to protect themselves. To this I did not agree, as I believed my influence over the natives, and the power I possessed to send off the offender, would satisfy them.

"I began by saying I was sorry that poor Tong had been killed; that I had sent two white fellows off to be hanged, for killing little Tommy* of the Myall; that I would have the constable hanged too."—Ms. quoted in the Westminster Review, for January 1830, p. 184.†

* Little Tommy's case is that mentioned in p. ccxxxviii. above.

† The author of the Ms. was a Magistrate in New South Wales in 1826.

Second Passage.

" In April, 1827, a considerable sensation was excited amongst the Company's servants, by one of our shepherds having been speared by a native black. I therefore felt it my duty to use every possible effort to have the offender secured and punished; more especially as three convicts were at that time under sentence of death for the murder of a native on the Grant; and as these men had, in the first instance, been committed by me, and were ordered to be executed at Port Stephen, I felt it necessary to shew that, in the important station it was my lot to fill, as the Company's representative, protection should, to the utmost of my power, be extended to *all* classes, and justice equally executed upon all offenders, whether black or white. I accordingly took a party of the military, and such native guides as I could depend upon, and went amongst the distant tribes on the Myall River, where the criminal was known to have fled :"—so far well, but this gentleman proceeds,—" having previously written to the Governor, to beg he would suspend the execution of the three offenders till the result of my pursuit should be known. We searched unsuccessfully for a fortnight. Two objects, however, were gained :—1st. That of the salutary terror with which our vigorous pursuit inspired the natives. 2nd. The confidence established by it in the minds of our people, that, whether convicts or otherwise, no pains would be spared to punish any outrages that might be committed upon them. I received, in answer to my report of the proceedings, the thanks of the Governor for my exertions, and also the gratifying intelligence that *the lives of the white men had been spared.*"—*The same Magistrate's Statement*, 1829, p. 36.

Upon the face of these papers the pardon of the mur-

derers is without the slightest justification; and the case is a remarkable proof of our unjust conduct in New South Wales. Here was a magistrate claiming credit, and not improperly, for his kind consideration of the natives; and a very large estate belonging to proprietors in England, amongst whom are some of the most active philanthropists. On the spot, consequently, there is less of mere self-interest opposed to the natives than in any part of New Holland; and the wealth of the Company removes the ordinary cause of exasperation when needy settlers are pilfered of a few cobs of maize, or a lamb. Yet in such a case of really frightful atrocity, the humane magistrate sets up the plea of expediency, and the governor yields to it, and pardons murderers in a way that in England would at once cause universal remonstrance.

Whilst we are spending enormous sums in ridding ourselves of the convicts at the expense of the New Hollanders, exertions surely ought to be made in favour of these poor people. But the first step we must take, if we intend to do them justice, is to give up convict transportation. Then, in order to save the more remote families whom we are rapidly approaching, we must execute the king's instructions of 1670 (p. 24, above); in other words, adopt the spirit of the Dutch law of 1636, set forth in the title page of this volume.

At the Swan River there are no convicts; and the natives have already shewn us the friendliness we usually meet with upon first settling new countries; and difficult as the task unquestionably is to combine our interests with theirs, no fair observer of them elsewhere will deny their capacity, or their good feeling.—It is, therefore, exceedingly to be hoped that at least an attempt will be made to save them, through the means which at Sydney the London Missionary Society tried with considerable effect in 1826, in defiance of extraordinary obstacles.

APPENDIX, Nos. 6 and 7.

Further Reasons in favour of the proposed Settlement at Natal.

Since the first article of this Appendix was written, a melancholy catastrophe has befallen Lieutenant Farewell, the founder of the Natal Settlement in 1824. It is feared that he and several of his companions, white and black, have fallen sacrifices under the circumstances detailed in the following papers. The first is taken from a Journal published in the Cape Advertiser of the 30th September, 1829. It is in continuation of the notes ending in p. xciv, above; and exhibits the state of the tribes near Port Natal, shortly before my unfortunate friend was proceeding thither.

Mr. Bain's Journal.—Notes from the Cape Advertiser.

"September 30, 1829.

"Faco's kraal is situated in a very thickly-inhabited country, between the Little and Great Umgaza Rivers; (see p. xlv.) We could not discover any traces of the descendants of Europeans amongst the Amapondas. But Depa, a chief of a neighbouring tribe, is the son of a white woman. He is about 70 years of age.

" Faco's country may be considered the granary of the eastern parts of Caffreland, as the Amapondas annually supply the inhabitants with great quantities of maize and Caffre corn; for which they receive in return hides, beads, and cattle.

" Faco made no objection to our passage through his country.

" Two short journies from his kraal brought us to the summit of the Umzoomvobo mountains, where a prospect, the most appalling to a weary traveller, burst on our astonished sight. The river was 2000 feet below. We have distinguished two mountains on our map, by the names of Dr. Cowie and Mr. Green, who were probably the first travellers who took a waggon down these passes.

" According to the result of several observations made here, we consider this river to be the St. John's River of Captain Owen's map. Vessels of small burden could navigate eighteen or twenty miles from the mouth. I could not ascertain the depth of water at the bar.

" Every vegetable production is of gigantic growth; and many of the trees unknown in other parts of this country. A rich field is opened to the botanist and ornithologist; while here, as through all Caffraria, the scarcity of quadrupeds surprised us. The only ones we saw were the elephant and hippopotamus. The former we only found east of the Umzoomvobo, in the mountainous forests of that country.

" The soil is, perhaps, the richest in Africa. The country towards the coast is inhabited by a tribe called Amatiesie.

" At sunset we reached the beautiful river Dafoof, which empties itself into the sea a few miles eastward of the Umzoomvobo; running through a fertile uninhabited country.

" Six days to the N. E., after crossing several other rivers, we reached a barrier in the Umzoomcoola mountains.

We had passed peaceably through the country of Snaam, chief of the Amaclasabie. They were alarmed at our first approach; but we soon conciliated them by presents. Our waggons were always surrounded with multitudes of these good people.—We now reached the Mujalie tribe, who were in alarm at the approach of the Chief Maquabie. Chaka had subdued him; and he had recovered his independence since Chaka's death. He is now attempting what he supposes to be universal conquest. Dingou, the successor of Chaka, was fighting him in the rear. His people had, however, already plundered several kraals, and murdered a number of women and children. The men fled; but during our stay they mustered courage to retaliate; and in one battle killed forty of the enemy, and retook great part of the stolen cattle.

"We could not penetrate the mountains to the north, and returned, after in vain endeavouring to cross the Umzoomvobo above its junction with four rivers called the Seetza, Teena, and Taffanie on the west, and the Umzoomvobo Kloof on the east.

"This was 50 miles above the ford towards the sea; and we founda solitary family of bushmen there, with whom we communicated, and returned to the estuary of Umzoomvobo.

"The whole population was in consternation, fleeing towards Faco's country from Maquabie.

"Klaas Lochenberg had procured from an English elephant hunter, whom I forbear naming, two Hottentots and a Caffre orlam,* well armed and mounted, to assist the Amatiesie; but he and one of the Hottentots were killed by the invaders. After this unfortunate affair, it would not be prudent for white people to risk a parley with the barbarians

* A Caffre acquainted with the manners of the colony.

flushed with victory. Yet it was our intention, had not this happened, to endeavour to stop their further irruption.

"We made the best of our way towards the colony, and found the Amapondas and Caffres every where preparing to fly, should the progress of the Fetcani (as Maquabie's horde in common with other assailants are called) not be stopped."

The second account is from a letter dated in Caffreland on the 22nd of October, 1829, and written to the author by a correspondent of great experience and good sense.

"Caffreland, October 22, 1829.

"I cannot convey the melancholy intelligence of what has happened to Mr. Farewell's party better than by transcribing a copy of a letter from John Cane, who was accompanying Mr. Farewell to Natal. It is dated Umzoomvobo, October the 12th, 1829; and is as follows:—

"Sir,

"I have to inform you of the most melancholy occurrence that ever happened in Caffraria—the death of Mr. Farewell, Thackwray, and Walker, and two Hottentots, by the Quabies, (1.) in the most treacherous manner. I had, from Fako's, opened a communication; and received for answer the most flattering offers of friendship, with two head of cattle for our present use; and Qeto, expressing a wish to see Mr. F., he complied, depending on their honour, which I always supposed, as well as Mr. F., to be strictly just; but, alas! we were deceived. On their arrival at the kraal, the Quabies shewed every mark of friendship, and gave them a cow to kill. At midnight they surrounded their tent and committed the fatal act. Three natives escaped and gave us intelligence. I had intended to have stood and protected what property we could have taken in one waggon, but was

basely deserted by all the Hottentots, and obliged to fly to the bush. I returned in the evening to the waggon :—such a destruction I suppose was never seen in Caffreland. They had taken about 5000*lbs.* of beads, every article of clothing, and what else could be of any service to them. Faint hopes are entertained that Mr. F. (2.) was made a prisoner. The interpreter saw Mr. Thackwray and Mr. Walker lying before the tent, and some Caffres standing over Mr. Farewell; but whether they were binding him, or in the act of assassination, is not positive. Mr. Whittle, Howard, Painter, and myself, remained to the last moment, and escaped in the night to the Umzimvooboo, where we now remain in a very critical situation. Some doubts remain as to the safety of Mr. Driver and party, who have not been heard of since this day week. I am going with Mr. Ford and Cawood to reconnoitre, and ascertain whether they are still safe; and on our return to the waggons, intend losing no time in getting to the colony. Our case is desperate, wholly deprived of every thing but what we stand in. Mr. Howard's waggon was five or six miles in advance, and was first plundered. Klaas Lochenberg in his attack (3.) had wounded Qeto; and I suppose they have taken revenge on that account.

"JOHN CANE."

"To the Rev. Mr. Shepstone, Morley."

"(1.) The Quabies, (or, according to the orthography in use among the missionaries, the Amaquabi,) are a clan of Zoolas under Qeto, who a few months ago revolted from Dingou, the successor of Chaka, and have been plundering all the remnants of tribes between the Umzimvooboo and Umzimkoo|oo rivers, and have threatened to attack Fako; but as there are only a few hundred fighting men among them, they have not yet ventured to attack that chief. They

are also on very bad terms with the other Zoolas under Dingam.

" (2.) I fear the hope that Mr. Farewell still survives, and is kept a prisoner, rests on a very slender foundation. It is not customary with the African tribes to make prisoners. I believe, however, the Zoolas have sometimes done so.

" (3.) Between two and three months ago Klaas Lochenberg, the boor who has so long lived in Hintza's country, being on a shooting excursion near the Zimvoubu River, very imprudently consented to assist a chief to attack the Quabies, who had then only recently begun their marauding movements in that part. Lochenberg was accompanied by two Hottentots and a Caffre. After giving some shots, the Quabies rushed upon them with such impetuosity, that Lochenberg and one of the Hottentots were killed.

" I know not what effect this melancholy intelligence may have on your plans relative to Port Natal; *but I trust you will not abandon the design. A regular civil government there would be likely, in my opinion, to check these outrages.* It is painful, however, to think how much time may be lost in consequence of this unhappy occurrence. I had already fancied the communication from Natal to the colony as secured; for it is only last week that I received a packet to be forwarded to the colony, which had passed by the usual posts from the missionary stations.—And Cane, who went to Natal last June, had returned, bringing a present of a large elephant's tusk from Dingam, the Zoola chief, for the governor of the colony. Having met Mr. Farewell's party, he joined it, intending to return with them to Natal.

" You will have heard of the death of Dr. Cowie and Mr. Green: they got very safely through all the tribes, and reached Delagoa Bay. They were treated kindly by all the natives, but especially the Zoolas. They actually succeeded in getting their waggon as far as the town of the late Chaka;

where, seeing some persons from the Portuguese settlements, they made inquiries which induced them to proceed to Delagoa Bay. They left Fako's country on the 1st of January, and arrived at the Portuguese Fort about the end of March, although they remained several days at some places, and experienced considerable difficulty in travelling.

"They died within a few days of each other on their return; and there is every probability that their great fatigue, and the fever of that deathly region, were the immediate causes of their dissolution. Dr. Cowie had made a will, which was forwarded through Caffreland to the colony; as were many other papers, containing memoranda of occurrences; and a rough sketch of a map, which would have been valuable, if they had lived to arrange their papers."

The remarks of the editor of the Cape Advertiser upon this melancholy occasion, deserve notice:—

"Lieutenant Farewell, it appears, has been killed, together with two of his party, on their way to Port Natal. For nearly five years this persevering but unfortunate gentleman has been struggling with courage against the calamities inseparable from new settlements in a barbarous or savage country: we are not aware of the nature of his expectations or hopes, but we doubt they were grounded rather on his wishes, than on any certain knowledge of the regions in the neighbourhood of his station.—*Omne ignotum pro magnifico.*

"Undiscovered countries *may* possess mines of wealth: men of sanguine temperament easily convert possibility into assurance; and then any man who hesitates, or asks questions, is stigmatised as an enemy to enterprise. The true friends of humanity, however, disdain to shrink from the duty they owe to their fellow-creatures, from any dread of obloquy. As long as men satisfy their vanity, and drain their pockets at dice, billiards, or on the turf, we can only

pity them; but when they make deluded men their bones or balls, or hacks, it becomes all who would not be partakers with them in their folly to raise their warning voice, however feeble it may be, or however narrow the circle in which their influence is felt. We do not speak of Mr. Farewell, who was unquestionably sincere—though as unquestionably mistaken; but we hope that his misfortunes, and those of Capt. King, and their followers, may induce other men to reflect seriously on the absurdity of such undertakings, and save the public the pain of witnessing similar sacrifices."

To what individuals these remarks may be directed, or what expectations of great wealth can have been entertained by any parties connected with Mr. Farewell in the interior trade,—or who these parties are, I know not. His representations to me of the mercantile resources of the Natal country were not highly coloured. Although not myself engaged in any such matters, I carefully inquired into the subject, and have stated my impressions upon it in the Chapter upon Trade in this volume; (p. 145.)* Mr. Farewell's last expedition seems to have been fitted out at great cost; and I am informed that at Graham's Town considerable expectation had been entertained of late, of a valuable opening being already made for enterprise to the eastward of the colony. The opinion of the Cape merchants, relative to the utility of civil government at Natal, has been already mentioned (p. cv); and Mr. Farewell's views were distinctly explained by himself to Lord Charles Somerset in 1824, as shewn above, (p. xlix.) The recent publication of the conclusions of the Commissioners of inquiry upon the future coasting trade from the Cape to Mozambique, and the

* And see a paper on the necessity of civilising principles to success in trade in South Africa, *Oriental Quarterly Review*, No. 1. published January, 1830.

state of Madagascar, support these views. The writer of the letter of 22nd October above quoted (p. ccl.), who expresses a hope that this sad calamity will not occasion the abandonment of my own designs, is even less connected with any gainful projects than I am; and I do not hesitate to declare my impressions to be unchanged in regard to the important use of a post *duly* established at Port Natal, as *one step* towards advancing South African civilisation. I am well aware of the wisdom of Lord Bacon's caution, to conduct our intercourse with barbarians with "sufficient guard;" and there is almost no limit, in my opinion, to the value of newspaper discussions upon such proceedings. Settlers are not invited (p. civ.); but the interior trade is valuable to Graham's Town, and I suppose it is not meant to object again to all enterprise in the interior; and since expeditions for those purposes are necessarily subject to some risks, the argument still holds good in favour of such settlements as that proposed at Port Natal, which would lessen danger. In the letter to the King's Government, laid before Sir Lowry Cole at Cape Town in May 1829, the projectors of that settlement urged, amongst other things, that it would tend to protect the interior traders. The late unhappy occurrence seems particularly to exemplify the views expressed in the letter on this head (see p. xcix, above); and it has only the more strongly convinced me of the propriety of the exertions which have been advocated throughout this volume.—*Part* of these exertions is, the adoption of the settlement at Port Natal upon sound principles. The last extract from the Cape paper is introduced in order to invite discussion, and in order to state fairly every point connected with the proposals.

I add another account dated South Africa, November 19th, 1829:—

"I have sad news of Mr. Farewell:—he was met by

Qeto's tribe, who welcomed the party to their kraal. At night they were murdered. Four Hottentots and two Caffre guides only were with them. The guides hearing cries, alarmed the Hottentots, entreating them in vain to stand to their arms, for they would not be spared; neither would they themselves, although Caffres. One loaded a gun and prepared for defence. The hut was surrounded. He asked to retire, and was refused. The hut was scon pierced in all directions by assagais. The guide forced the door, and killed one of the assailants. They retreated, and he reloaded; the Hottentots still clinging to the ground. During this the other guide stole away, which the armed Caffre would have done; but before he had reloaded the gun, the people were too close; so he determined to kill another and then make a start. This he actually accomplished; but wisely reloaded. He was pursued some miles by numbers who fell off by degrees; and as he was nearly exhausted, he turned round, on seeing only three at his heels, whom he warned to keep off; the nearest threw his assagay, and attempted to close; but he was shot dead, and the other two ran away. Thus he escaped after a gallant defence. The Hottentots were murdered. This man saw Thackwray and Walker dead, and Mr. Farewell bound, or being killed; he could not distinguish which. Driver, a trader, was in the neighbourhood, and his safety is despaired of.

"There is little doubt that the above calamity is owing to Klaas Lochenberg, (an outlawed boor,) who, with some Hottentots, attacked Qeto lately, killing many of his people, and wounding himself. Klaas was overpowered on the field; but it is said that Qeto will revenge himself on every white man his tribe can meet with."

A just activity beyond the frontiers would surely check such mischievous interference; and wise steps would now avert the consequences of them.

APPENDIX, No. 8.

The 49th and 50th Ordinances.

It will be unnecessary, for the purpose of this volume, to state more of these Cape laws, which were passed in 1828, than the following extracts from them :—

"Ordinance of his Honor the Lieut.-Governor in Council, for the admission into the colony, under certain restrictions, of persons belonging to the tribes beyond the Frontier thereof, and for regulating the manner of their employment, as free labourers, in the service of the colonists.

"Whereas, it is desirable to offer every encouragement to the profitable cultivation and closer occupancy of the lands of this extensive colony, and for this purpose to augment the amount of disposable labour, by affording the greatest facility compatible with the public safety, to the admission of foreigners from the tribes beyond the borders of the settlement, who may be desirous of migrating to and sojourning in the colony, and of entering into the service of the colonists as herdsmen, field labourers, house servants, or in whatever capacity may be most suitable to their seve-

ral inclinations and abilities: And whereas certain proclamations and ordinances, enacted and promulgated in times past, prohibit the admission or employment of certain of these foreigners, under severe penalties—Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this ordinance, the proclamation of the 27th June, 1797,—such part of the proclamation of the 14th May, 1812, as prohibits all intercourse with the Caffre people,—the proclamation of the 8th August, 1817,—and that of the 28th January, 1820,—shall be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared void and of no effect, save and except so far as the said proclamations and ordinances, or any of them, repeal any former proclamations or ordinances, or any clause, matter, or thing therein contained.

"And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this ordinance, it shall and may be lawful for the governor of this colony, for the time being, to authorise and direct the admission into the colony of any Caffres, Gonaquas, Tambookies, Griquas, Bosjesmen, Bechuanas, Mantatees, Namaquas, or other natives of the interior of Africa, who may be desirous of engaging in the service of the colonists, and to make *and publish* such rules and regulations for, and impose such restrictions upon, the admission and engagements of such foreigners as to him may seem fit, *with reference to the state and condition* of each particular tribe, *and the districts wherein the individuals are to be employed:* Provided always that such regulations and restrictions shall not contain any thing repugnant to the provisions of this ordinance, and that each and every such foreigner shall immediately, on receiving permission to enter the colony, be supplied by any justice of the peace or field-cornet of the district into which such person may first enter, with

a written pass, which shall set forth the name, sex, age, tribe, height, colour, features, and distinguishing marks of each person; the delivery of which shall be duly recorded in a book to be kept for this purpose, and the counterpart of such pass shall be forwarded to the clerk of the peace of the district, by the first opportunity: And provided further, and it is hereby enacted, that twice in each year, viz., upon the 1st of January and 1st of July, the clerks of the peace of the several districts shall furnish to the secretary to government a list of all passes granted by any of the justices of the peace or field-cornets in their respective districts, during the preceding six months, under the authority of the governor for the time being as aforesaid, which list shall set forth the name, sex, age, and tribe, of every foreigner to whom such passes may have been granted; and the lists so prepared shall immediately, after the receipt of the same at the office of the secretary to government, be laid by him before His Majesty's Council, for their information.

"(*Signed*) RICHARD BOURKE."

"No. 49."

"Ordinance of his Honor the Lieut.-Governor in Council, for improving the condition of Hottentots and other free persons of colour, at the Cape of Good Hope, and for consolidating and amending the laws affecting those persons.

"Be it enacted, that from and after the passing of this ordinance, no Hottentot or other free person of colour, lawfully residing in this colony, shall be subject to any compulsory service to which other of His Majesty's subjects therein are not liable, nor to any hindrance, molestation, fine, imprisonment, or punishment of any kind whatsoever,

under the pretence that such person has been guilty of vagrancy or any other offence, unless after trial in due course of law,—any custom or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

"And whereas doubts have arisen as to the *competency* of Hottentots and other free persons of colour to purchase or possess land in this colony: Be it therefore enacted and declared, that all grants, purchases, and transfers of land or other property whatsoever, heretofore made to, or by any Hottentot or other free person of colour, are and shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be of full force and effect, and that it is, and shall and may be lawful for any Hottentot or other free person of colour, born, or having obtained deeds of burghership in this colony, to obtain and possess by grant, purchase, or other lawful means, any land or property therein,—any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

"(*Signed*) Richard Bourke."

"No. 50.

APPENDIX, No. 9.

The Map, and Population.

The purpose of the map is to illustrate three points:—I. The *irresistible* progress of white settlers into the interior; and that therefore our policy should be directed to making them useful, not destructive, to the natives.—II. The populousness of the native tribes near the Cape colony; and that therefore it will be wise to make exertions to communicate with them in peace.—III. That our traders and missionaries are on the eve of intercourse with the Portuguese out-posts; and that therefore exertion will be wisely bestowed to hold such intercourse in a manner calculated to improve the native tribes, and to avoid hostile collisions with the Portuguese.

In the first place, that the white people will not be restrained by the government from spreading in South Africa, the experience of the failure of more than 150 years direct hostility to their doing so, seems to prove. From the three hours limits in 1659, (p. cxiv,) we have gone forward filling up tracts of country, boundary after boundary, in the years mentioned in the map; always imposing the severest penalties, by law, upon transgressors of the last limits; but as frequently sanctioning the wrong by soon taking up new advanced points. It would be easy to prove this by the several

proclamations, which I had intended to adduce at length, but space is wanting; the injunctions and infractions of one of which are well noticed by Le Vaillant, an excellent authority:—

"The banks of the Sondag were formerly the boundaries of the Caffres, who had their principal habitations on Bruyntes Hoogte, some faint vestiges of which still remain. The express orders, as well as the intention of government, were, that these limits should always be accounted sacred; but the planters, who have neither the same views nor the same wisdom as a political administration,—finding the lands of their defenceless neighbours much better than their own, in process of time took possession of them, and with impunity drove these people beyond the Groot Vis. The orders of the governors, more and more disregarded, produced no effect, and the great distance favoured these abuses, and made them become every day more frequent." —*Vaillant*, II. 220.

The rapidity of our advance is curiously illustrated by the present state of the country, which, in 1819, a Quarterly Reviewer, who assumed to be well acquainted with the Cape, declared roundly to be as remote from colonisation as "a settlement behind the Himalaya Mountains." The spot is now, nevertheless, entirely granted out; and as we have seen, (p. 67, above,) the farmers have penetrated some 70 miles beyond it to the north of the Orange River; and in 1829, our actual eastern boundary is pushed to the Chumie and Keiskamma, equally against law and policy.

Unless, therefore, contrary to reasonable hope, some new limits be devised, stronger than the not feeble theoretical restraints of old times, it seems wise to consider if we can-

not *guide* the activity which experience shows impossible to be checked.

2ndly. That the tribes in contact with us are populous, seems certain. The following notes are taken from authentic accounts, to which it would be easy to add many further details. As we proceed into Caffreland, it is clear that we are displacing more numerous bodies of men than we afterwards settle in the country which we acquire; an effect of civilisation, which deserves a more critical inquiry than can be afforded to it in this volume.

For the Caffres, (Amakosæ,) see p. 169, above. The Tambookies have been declared by the Rev. W. Brownlee, of the London Missionary Society, a competent judge, to be more numerous than the Amakosæ. In the foregoing documents in this Appendix, (No. 1,) it has been seen that from the Tambookies to Natal the country is thronged, with certain intervals; and in-land the Bushmen are in powerful bands.

Notes.—(1.) *Kurreechane.*—"From this elevation we beheld a plain bounded by hills, and extending 80 or 100 miles round. The people told us it abounded with elephants and buffaloes, and pointed to different hills on the east, where they said stood large towns."—*Campbell's Second Journey*, vol. II. pag. 224.

"The guide gave me the names of twenty nations round, many with towns as populous as Kurreechane."—Ib. p. 271.

"It was impossible to number the houses in Kurreechane; but probably the population may amount to 16,000, it being at least four times the size of New Lattakoo."—Ibid. p. 277.

(2.) "These Bootshuana Bushmen must be very numerous."—Ibid. p. 289.

(3.) "Old and New Lattakoo are about 50 miles distant from each other, and contain, perhaps, 4000 inhabitants each."—Ibid.

(4.) " At length we cleared the wood, (in which we had seen Tammaha cattle grazing,) and entered what resembled an extensive English common, when we observed scores of women and children running from the corn-fields to witness the novel sight of the travelling houses or waggons."—Ibid. p. 153.

(5.) " The population of Meribohwhey may be about 6 or 700. There are two other towns under the same jurisdiction."—Ibid. p. 166.

(6.) " We walked outside of Bashow, and counted seven or eight villages around, or rather divisions of the place, probably thus separated to be near their corn-fields; ascending two eminences to see the extent of their cultivated land, we had a view of several hundred acres of Caffre corn." —Ibid. p. 177.

(7.) " Mashow is about twelve miles to the east of Meribowhey and Taykeeso, three days S. E. on a river that runs into the Yellow River. The last town contains about 800 people."—Vol. II. p. 7.

(8.) " Machatchanar contains about 7 or 800 inhabitants."—Vol. II. p. 71.

(9.) " Natauner contains 323 houses, and about 1600 inhabitants."—Ibid. p. 82.

(10.) " Letakka contains about 150 people."—Ibid. p. 86.

(11.) " Turreehey contains about 600 people."—Ibid. p. 101.

(12.) " I am not able to judge of the number of the inhabitants in Quaque, the principal town of the Wankets; but it covers at least eight times more ground than any town I have yet seen among the Bechuanas; so that the population must be very great, compared to South African towns in general."—*Mr. Moffat's Journal, in Dr. Philip's Researches*, vol. II. p. 159.

(13.) " The Baqueans, a very populous nation, lie to the

N. E. and E. of the Wankets. Beyond the Baqueans lie the Mangwatto tribe, distinguished for industry and riches: and beyond them is the Magalatsela, who seem to form the limits, in that direction, of the aborigines. Far beyond them, they say, are a half white people, who wear linen, and whose manners are very savage."—Ibid. p. 154.

(14.) "I understand the countries to the north and east abound with rivers, and are very fruitful and populous. The mountains here are adorned to the very summits with stately trees and shrubs, unknown more to the south."—Ibid. p. 155.

The foregoing notes have been strongly confirmed by accounts which have been published in the Cape newspapers by traders, in the last four years.

It is conceived that, at a low estimate, the numbers of the natives between Delagoa Bay, Lattakoo, and the Cape, may be as follows:—

(1.)	Amakosæ, under Hinsa, Gaika, and the other Cape Caffre chiefs, (see pp. 169—170, above)	
(Pink.)		100,000
(2.)	Amatymbæ under Vosani, Powana, and the other Tambookie chiefs, (the Rev. Mr. Brownlee's account in the transactions	
(Green.)	of the London Missionary Society)	150,000
(3.)	Mambo nations, viz: the Amapondas under Faku, at the Umzimvoobo; the Amabomvana under Depa, at the Umtata; the Amatiesi and Amajali, at the Um-	
(Yellow.)	zimcoolo, (see above, p. lxxxi.)	100,000
		350,000

Brought forward	350,000
(4.) Zoolas, (by conjecture from various ac- (Pink.) counts,) properly Amazulus . .	200,000
(5.) Amaceesas, the Ficani of 1828, (from ac- (Blue.) counts during the campaign,) . .	20,000
(6.) Amaquabis, the Ficani of 1829, (journal and letter, p. xc,) . . .	5,000
(7.) Bushmen and Bashootos, (conjecture from (Orange.) miscellaneous accounts,) . .	20,000
(8.) Griquas, Bergenars, and Coranas, (pag. 218, &c., and miscellaneous accounts,) .	12,000
(9.) Lehoias, Baralongs, and other tribes lying between Lattakoo and Delagoa, (miscellaneous accounts,) . . .	100,000
	707,000

The white and coloured Cape population are about one-sixth part of this number, upon a country half as extensive, with a considerable foreign commerce. Civilization, with its new modes of distributing property, and injustice *hitherto*, has unquestionably lowered the number of mankind in South Africa. Before 1811 the Zureveld, we know from Colonel Collins's very useful inquiry, contained more than 20,000 Gonas and Caffres, who were then driven away. It now probably supports half that number of English and Dutch.

Albany and Uitenhage, the two eastern districts of the Cape colony, contain 11,400 square miles, and something less than 14,000 inhabitants of all classes. Caffreland, which adjoins it, contains about 12,000 square miles of country, and at a low estimate 100,000 people.

It is, however, the opinion of judicious and experienced persons in Caffreland, that a much greater quantity of subsistence may be raised in that country than at present, as the native people become more industrious. Surely the very sight of a map, with these contrasts, should induce us to labour a little to save those whom, if we destroy, we shall only replace by such diminished numbers.

Upon the third point, in addition to the long known circumstance of the natives near Lattakoo sometimes having articles which have passed from Delagoa Bay, or from the more northern fairs, it needs only to be observed that the Portuguese are reported in Mr. Bowdich's book to obtain ivory from the Orange River. Recently, I have had assurance from persons of credit at the northern head of this river, that details may soon be expected relative to the traffic of the Portuguese for slaves between that quarter and Delagoa Bay and Inhambane; and our traders and missionaries have visited Melita, and have passed the site of Kurreechane.

The Portuguese collections of Mr. Bowdich have furnished the materials for the more northern parts of the map; and, as stated in the introductory chapter, almost the whole mass has been compiled from descriptions, not from the personal observation of the author, whose visit ended with the Buffalo River in Caffreland.

The missionary stations are marked with crosses. The last founded in 1829—Morley, on the east of the Umtata, near Port Natal, was recently interrupted by the Amaquabis.

The military posts are marked with two crosses, × ×. The known native towns are marked thus—o, and the progressive boundaries of the Cape colony are signified by dates; but they are inserted as illustrations of the arguments, not with pretensions to minute exactness.

The following treaties and proclamations furnished the principal materials from which the several Cape boundaries in the map were taken :—

1. " The treaty of 1659," (p. cxiv, above.)
2. " The proclamation of the 8th December, 1739."
3. " ———————— of 1770 and 1774."
4. " The treaties with the Caffres of 1786 and 1793."
5. " The proclamations of boundaries by Lord Macartney and Governor Janssens."
6. " The proclamation of boundaries by Lord Charles Somerset, after Sir Rufane Donkin's time."

Of late years, a pernicious and illegal practice has prevailed of taking in new boundaries by the orders of governors at the Cape, without the formality of proclamations. This seems to have been done in regard to all the lands seized by us east of the Fish River, and beyond the Bamboosberg, and on the Cradock.

The materials prepared at Cape Town not being received in time for this publication, the Map has been compiled from less valuable sources.

APPENDIX, No. 10.

List of some Printed Books, and of Manuscripts, relating to the South and Eastern Coast of Africa.

The Portuguese and other early accounts are referred to in the Modern Universal History; in Dean Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients; and in Malte Brun. In p. ii, above, an accurate survey of a Portuguese navigator of 1575 is mentioned; and the extraordinary coasting voyage of another navigator, in 1536, is described shortly in the Quarterly Review, vol. xviii. p. 337. The following authors treat more or less of Africa, on the eastern coast, from the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique:—Tachart; Valentyn; Linschot; Dampier; Kolben; Bogoert; Maxwell; Caerden; Nieuhoff; Hamilton; Gerbrantz Vander Schelling, 1707; Van Riebeck, journal of 1652, lately printed at the Cape; Purry, 1719. The foregoing books were written before the year 1720; and in Holland and at the Cape of Good Hope valuable details may be found in manuscript, concerning the occurrences before and after that year; and an almost uninterrupted history might be compiled from the following authorities of later dates:—

De la Caille; several other French authors of the middle of the 18th century; and the author of the New Descrip-

tion of the Cape, in 1774; Jacob de Bucquoy, in 1769; the Moravian accounts in 1740, and from 1792; Jacob Francken, in 1760; Thunberg, 1769; Sparrman, 1778; Paterson, 1780; Captain Cook; Le Vaillant; De Jong, 1793; Captain Beaver; Thomans, in 1788; White, in 1800; Stavorinus; Van Reenan's Journal by Riou, 1792; Pisani; Stout's Wreck of the Hercules, 1796; the Missionary books; Barrow, 1798 and 1802; Alberti, 1805; Lichtenstein, 1805; Truter and Somerville's Journal 1802; Perceval, 1800; Peron, 1804; Van Pallandt, 1803; Hoppe's Journal, 1778; Hogendorp, 1805; Bouchenroeder, 1803; Fisher; Semple; Salt, 1810; Burchell, 1812; Latrobe, 1815; Campbell, 1812—1819; Notes on the Cape, 1820; Bowdich, 1824; Thompson, 1824; Scenes in Albany, 1825; Pringle; Malte Brun, 1827; Philip, 1828; Rose's Four Years in South Africa, 1829; Chase on the Trade of the Interior, (advertized at the Cape,) 1829; the Cape Gazettes and newspapers; the Cape periodical publication called the Tydschrift; the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry; the Oriental Herald, and recent Cape pamphlets, with the Cape and Dutch Mss. concerning the settlement at Delagoa Bay in 1720; the Expeditions in Governor Tulbagh's time, after 1750; the Proceedings on the Caffre Frontier, by Colonel Gordon, about 1790; the Inquiries of Colonel Collins in 1808; and the unpublished Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1825, with Captain Owen's Papers upon the whole Eastern Coast of Africa, said to be preparing for publication; and see p. cclxx.

For practical remarks upon African civilization generally, it would be necessary to consult, amongst numerous other books, what has been published relative to the Danish Western settlements, the American settlement of Liberia, Sierra Leone; particularly the reports of the Commissioners

of Inquiry; and I hope to be able to add hereafter an authentic statement of the views of my lamented brother, the late Chief Justice of Sierra Leone.

The opinions of the late Governor of Senegal, M. Roger, deserve every consideration; with the plans intimated in different papers in the French Revue Encyclopedique relative to the importance of attempts to improve Interior Africa by way of Egypt.

Upon the curious subject of the languages of South Africa, Mr. Sharon Turner's paper on the transactions of the Literary Society, should be consulted amongst others.

Add to these sources of information all that concerns Abyssinia, the Eastern Portuguesè possessions, and Madagascar, where unquestionably better principles may gradually be established without much difficulty, and it will be seen that the means favourable to the end in view are sufficiently extensive to render the *beginning* of success probable; the attainment of which point is all that prudence will aim at by external exertions. Afterwards, the natives will rise by their own energies, or be proved to deserve the character of inferiority hitherto attached to them without a fair trial. The following proofs of the capacity of the calumniated Hottentots are in continuation of the passage quoted from Moravian papers, in p. 224 above; where mention is made of an experiment for qualifying young men to be teachers.—"March 28th, 1829. The two Hottentot youths whom I took under my particular care in August last, afford me much pleasure by their steady progress in knowledge. In reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, they are already considerable proficients; and nothing but their youth prevents their taking a share in the instruction of others." —Periodical accounts relating to the missions of the United Brethren, No. cxxiv. p. 142.—*Letter from the Rev. H. P. Halbeck.*

" My two Hottentot pupils continue to give me full satisfaction. Lately a college was established in Cape Town for the education of the colonial youth. A gentleman of high respectability, who was present when 104 youths were examined for admission into the college, happened to pay us a visit a few days later, and witnessed an examination of my two scholars in arithmetic and in the use of the terrestrial globes, and declared upon his honour that among the 104 there was not one so skilled in arithmetic as the two Hottentot lads."—*Ms. letter from Mr. Hallbeck, of November*, 1829.

It is proper to mention, to the honour of Dr. Vander Kemp, that more than twenty years ago he planned the advancement of the Hottentots upon methods similar, and even much superior to what the excellent Mr. Hallbeck is now proving to be highly favourable to their improvement. —*Mss.; and see the first and second volumes of the Transactions of the London Missionary Society.*

Other publications containing accounts of the Cape, and of the policy exercised towards the natives, are:—

The Reports of the Deputies from the Burghers in 1782; L'Afrique Hollandaise, 1784; Commons' Journals Report on a proposed Colony at Cape Voltas, 1780; Lieutenant Rice, 1797; Grosvenor Wreck by Carter, 1791; Affidavits of Larey and other survivors of the Grosvenor's crew, 1784; Gleanings in Africa, 1806; Reports of the Commissioners of 1792; Captain Thunnissen's Journey, 1414; The Cape in 1822, by a Civil Servant; Sir Rufane Donkin's Letters, 1827; Lord Charles Somerset's Defence, folio, 1827; Grant on the Cape Currency, 1825; Account of the wreck of L'Eole in Caffreland in 1829; An Account of Mozambique, printed at Rio de Janeiro 1829.

APPENDIX, No. 11.

Lieutenant Colonel Collins's Journal of a Visit to Hinsa's Country in 1809.

In 1808 and 1809 Lieutenant Colonel Collins, an officer of merit, was employed by Lord Caledon to examine the disposition of the native tribes near the Cape. The object of the visit through Caffreland seems to have been to ascertain if the people were likely to combine in support of the Caffres west of the Fish River, whom it was intended to expel from what was considered to be the Cape colony. With those Caffres were confounded the Gona Hottentots, who were unquestionably natives of the soil which we claimed; and who were driven from it against all law.

Colonel Collins's reports were valuable in many respects; but they ought to be published, in order that some very important errors may be corrected by discussion. The Journal relates to an excursion from the Bamboos Berg, by the heads of the T'Ky River, to Hinsa's country; and the party returned apparently by a higher road than that which is now usually taken through Caffreland. The descriptions of the country, and the dialogues with Hinsa, Gaika, and Islambe, are extremely interesting.

This gentleman reported to the Cape Government the truth upon Gaika *not* being the principal chief of Caffreland. Nevertheless, during ten or twelve years, we aggravated the feuds of the country by madly attempting to force the supremacy upon him, against his own will not less than against that of his rivals.

APPENDIX, No. 12.

The Indians of Canada.

It was intended to illustrate the principles advocated in this volume, by an account of certain proceedings relative to the Mohawks who accompanied us after the Revolution of 1782 into Upper Canada. In 1822, they appealed to His Majesty against the acts of the local government; and their whole story, with a detail of the expenditure and effect of the Indian department, would have been useful. Space, however, is wanting for their case, which deserves a separate volume.

In the words of the President of the United States to Congress in December last, relative to the Cherokees:— "Our conduct towards these people is deeply interesting to our national character." All these cases are in fact the same, with but very slight variations, as hitherto affairs have been conducted.

In the Modern Universal History, the key to the difficulty of civilising the Indians was well illustrated in the last century:—

"The flourishing state of the colony (it is there stated) soon enhanced to the proprietary the price of Indian lands,

which were purchased not by the acre, but the mile. Mr. Penn, however, still continued to purchase; and found his benefit from the tranquillity of his possession, in paying the advanced price. The Indians, on the other hand, *came into new life; and by the vast profits they made by their peltry trade, they soon accommodated themselves with the utensils and conveniencies of the English peasantry. This new manner of living kept them entirely quiet.*"—Vol. XLI. p. 10.

Again: "It is observable that till of late, by the instigation of the French, the Pennsylvanians never lost a single man by the Indians, which ought to be an instructive lesson, that *good usage, a peaceable behaviour, and at least* PLAUSIBLE *dealing, will do almost every thing with these savages that can or ought reasonably to be desired of them.* * * * * The English not only supply those savages with guns, hatchets, and kettles, but mend them gratis, *which perhaps is no bad policy;* as it *prevents* them from applying themselves to handicraft operations."—Ibid. p. 31.

Again: "But, notwithstanding the opposition those conversions met with, the converts multiplied so greatly, that the praying Christians, for so they were called, built a large town near Charles River, in the middle of Massachusets, and it was the best Indian town that had ever been seen either in the French or the English settlements of North America. It consisted of three long streets, (one of them on the other side of the river, but joined by a wooden bridge) and a large house built after the English manner, which served for a church, a school-room, a store-house, and a lodging for Mr. Elliot. * * * * *All this success was owing to the good usage these savages met with;* for the remains of the Pequots, the Narragansets, and the Mohegins, who *had been severely handled by the English, were still irrecon-*

cileable to Christianity, notwithstanding the indefatigable labours of Mr. Mayhew."—Vol. xxxix. pp. 294, 295.

The same principles which thus marred the success of the early friends of the Indians have not ceased to prevail: the struggle now going on in regard to the Cherokees * in Georgia, may be paralleled in the settlements still in our possession; where the exertions of the well-disposed part of the community must fail of permanent effects, unless His Majesty's government take the lead, and compel the unprincipled to become just.

* In America the friends of the Indians appear to be making great exertions for the Cherokees, and for the honour of the States. The "Essay on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians," published last year in Boston, should be made known to the English public. The President's speech of 1829 contains some revolting errors in principle; but it has improved upon that of 1828; and further struggles may yet save the Cherokees, whom the white American ought to foster as the first considerable fruits of Indian civilisation, rather than expel them again into the wilderness. In two numbers of Blackwood's Magazine, of a few months ago, may be found some able articles on Processes for destroying Barbarians, and on the true difficulties of civilising them.

APPENDIX, No. 13.

As to giving lands to the Hottentots; and as to Stuurman's case.

The title of the Hottentots to hold lands in the Cape Colony is now settled. The Colonial law (the 50th Ordinance, p. cclviii above) is confirmed by His Majesty in Council. Sir Lowry Cole has made some of these poor people a sort of guard to the colonists against the exasperated Caffres; and even there their industry triumphs, as His Excellency has proclaimed in a notice published in the Cape Gazette since visiting them in October last. To do justice to other Hottentots, and to advance the Cape Colony by a gradually thickening population, they must be spread amongst the inhabitants on the numerous vacant lands to be found within the limits. This was General Janssens' principle (p. clxxvi, above); and the late commissioners of inquiry have declared their opinions to the same effect. It is indeed abundantly clear that the poorer soils of the Cape can only be filled-up by encouraging the more destitute colonists (the coloured people) to settle upon them. The following Memorials sent from Bethelsdorp in January 1829, shew

the views of several experienced and sensible Hottentots upon the subject:—

"To His Excellency, Sir Lowry Cole, &c.

"The Memorial of divers inhabitants of the district of Uitenhage, sprung principally from the Gona and other Hottentot tribes,

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That memorialists have long been members of Bethelsdorp, and can appeal confidently to their missionaries and neighbours for testimony to their conduct in their various pursuits.

"That hitherto want of land has checked the natural increase of their cattle, and deprived memorialists of the just reward of industry; nevertheless, under great disadvantages, some of them have acquired waggons, oxen, cows, goats, sheep, and other property; and all possess competent skill in husbandry and as mechanics.

"That they wish to obtain grants upon certain tracts situated near the sea, between the Bosjesman and Sunday Rivers, together with the Gora and lands adjacent in Uitenhage, at about half-way from Bethelsdorp to Theopolis and to settle there.

"That they have been informed of applications being recently made for the said lands; but they submit their own claims to be superior to those of any other persons whatever, and especially to the claims of individuals already possessing extensive farms.

"That memorialists know the value of instruction for their children, and of suitable means of religious communion for themselves; and trust to obtain the benefit of the pro-

vision recommended by His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry in that behalf;* to which they doubt not they may be able, hereafter, in a reasonable time to contribute.

" That it may be right to impose certain conditions upon memorialists, in order to secure these grants to their children.

" That as by events beyond their control their cattle and other possessions have become few, they trust to have quit-rents remitted to them for ten years, as was done in settling the Zureveld in 1817.

" They also pray that such conditions may be imposed upon memorialists as shall best secure the lands aforesaid to them and to their children: and they desire to add that this application does not concern themselves alone, but also many other members of Bethelsdorp now absent cutting timber, or upon journeys, or in other employments, as likewise all such inhabitants of the colony as are entitled to the benefit of the late law.

" And memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Moses Constable.
Samson Tidor.
Wentzel Heemro.
David Scheepers.
Hendrick Hatha by Elizabeth his daughter.
Isaac Vincent, the Younger.
Frans Vincent.
Willem Vincent by Isaac his nephew.
Cupido Heemro.
Gert Windrogel by Klas his son.

* In the General Report.—Sir Lowry Cole has so far adopted the Commissioners' views as to place a minister with the Hottentots colonised on part of the neutral ground in 1829.

Smith Platjes by Elizabeth his daughter.
Cobus Valentyn.
Stuurman Platjes.
Andries Stoffels by Sarah his daughter.
Jan David by Els his daughter.
Africa Cæsar by Els his sister.
Piet Manuel by Jacob his son.
Izaak Vincent by Hendrick his son.
Hendrick Vincent.
Danster Ruiters by Jan his son.
Jan Ruiters.
Klaas Klaas by Catherine his daughter.
Martinus Van Vurren by Wentzel his nephew.
Hendrick Heyn.
Titus Platjes by Gert his son.
Jan Stuurman by his daughter.
Daniel Zealand by Gert his son.
Jan Stuurman by his sister.
Jan Jantzes (his mark) ⋈
John Dragoonda (his mark) ⋈
Petrus Prins by Wentzel his nephew."

"To His Excellency, Lieutenant-General the Honorable Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, &c. Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

"The memorial of divers inhabitants of the district of Uitenhage, sprung principally from the Gona and other Hottentot tribes,

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That memorialists have been long members of Bethelsdorp, and can appeal confidently to their missionaries

and neighbours for testimony of their conduct as mechanics, and in their various ordinary pursuits.

" That most of them have been faithful soldiers in regiments, or upon commandos, and have otherwise served the public well.

" That hitherto want of land has checked the natural increase of their cattle, and deprived memorialists of the just reward of industry.

" That they thankfully acknowledge the benefit of the late law, which declares their ancient right to hold land; but they pray that it may be followed by the indispensible means of obtaining grants.

" That they do not seek to intermeddle with what has been given to others of his Majesty's subjects; although they cannot forget that it belonged to their fathers, and was lately rescued from the Caffres by their help, but they submit that it is just to reserve all that is left, for them and their children.

" Memorialists further submit that they will be unable to find the vacant lands, if not furnished with exact knowledge of the limits of the present farms.

" They therefore pray that copies of the surveyor's plans, and of the official reports relating to the Veldcornetcies of Uitenhage, may be ordered to be made out, and sent to Bethelsdorp for their use.

" That many members of Bethelsdorp, now absent cutting timber near the lands aforesaid, and in various employments, and other Hottentots, are interested in the application; and the said lands are not calculated duly to support many families.

" Memorialists therefore pray that the same may be severally granted to such among them all, as may be found

best entitled thereto; and that further provisions may be made for their due enjoyment thereof.

" And memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Moses Constable, &c. &c."

The possession of capital is generally a consideration for crown grants. In looking, however, at the case of the Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, and Enon Hottentots, it ought to be weighed that in the commando of 1828, they gave a large capital to the colony; and that their losses in the late drought have amounted probably to 20,000 dollars, in consequence of being refused relief in land.

Stuurman's case illustrates the question of the right of Hottentots to land; and of the barbarous treatment to which they have been exposed. In pp. 55, cxlv, cxlviii, and clxxx, that case is noticed; and further details upon it may be found in the notes to Mr. Pringle's Poems, and in Dr. Philip's Researches. Mr. Barrow exposed the earlier part of the case twenty-five years ago; and a memorial was lately presented to the governor of the Cape, Sir Lowry Cole, by four children of David Stuurman, to obtain his return from New South Wales, whither he was illegally and unjustly transported about 1823. The farm given to the family by Governor Janssens ought to be restored or compensated. In this way of retribution, and by a due vigour, and just dealing with all the tribes, the cause of civilization *in Africa might be better promoted from the Cape of Good Hope than from all its other quarters together.*

THE END.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR;

REMARKS on the CAPABILITY of the INDIANS of NORTH AMERICA, and on the OBSTACLES to their BECOMING CIVILIZED. 1822. 2*s.* 6*d.*

JUDGMENTS of SIR ORLANDO BRIDGMAN, whilst CHIEF-JUSTICE of the Common Pleas, A. D. 1662—1667. Butterworth, 1823. 1*l.* 5*s.*

ESSAY on the LAWS of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. Cape Town, 1828. 2*s.* 6*d.*

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION;

PRIVY-COUNCIL REPORTS, chiefly in cases from the COLONIES and from INDIA; with an Introduction on the Duties of the Council upon Petitions to the King.

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.